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Southern Baptist missionaries and the Sino-Japanese War, 1931-1945

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Southern Baptist Missionaries

and the

Sino-Japanese War

1931-1945

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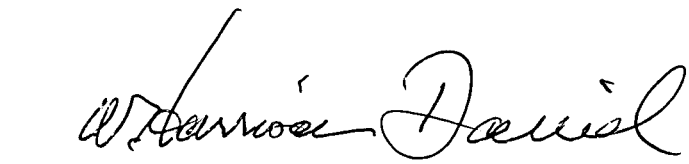
Southern Baptist men and women had lived and worked in China as missionaries for a century when Japan began its occupation of the country. They built churches and established schools and medical facilities while spreading Christianity. When the Japanese army, in 1937, escalated the war in China the missionaries found themselves working in two arenas. Many were involved in refugee relief activities in Free China, while others willingly maintained their positions in occupied territory. After the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor and the United States entered World War II Southern Baptists in Occupied China became prisoners of the Japanese. They were assembled with other captured foreigners in detention camps where they lived until they were exchanged for Japanese prisoners from the United States.

This research of primarily missionary manuscripts, Southern Baptist, and United States government sources, analyzes the political and economic situation of the Southern Baptist missions in China during the Sino-Japanese War and the diplomatic prisoner exchange on the Gripsholm which brought the missionary repatriates home.

I certify that I have read this thesis and find that, in scope and quality, it satisfies the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.



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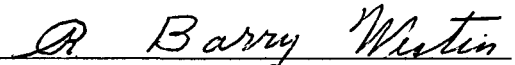

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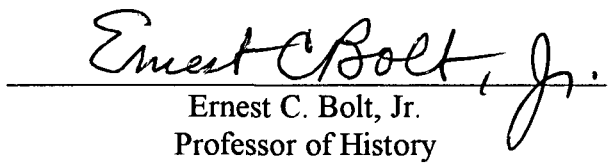

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SOUTHERN BAPTIST MISSIONARIES AND THE SINO-JAPANESE WAR 1931-1945

by

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Preface

In 1936, just prior to Japan's full scale invasion of China, the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention operated five large missions in the vast country. These missions included 216 sub-stations where 235 male and female missionaries preached to, taught, and medically treated the Chinese population. China was the Foreign Mission Board's largest and most successful mission venture. During one-hundred years Southern Baptists had built churches, schools and seminaries to better enable them to convert and educate the native population of China. Prior to the Sino-Japanese War and World War II the Foreign Mission Board's goal was to continue to expand its mission endeavors in the country. War interrupted and altered the plan.

Since 1931 Japan had occupied Manchuria. By 1937 the Japanese military was poised to invade south and west to occupy increasingly more territory of China - a country already weakened by internal struggle and natural disasters. Civil war between the Chinese Communists and the Nationalist government had undermined the strength of the country to resist Japan. Flood and famine had debilitated and impoverished large numbers of the Chinese population. China was vulnerable to invasion by the Japanese military.

Prior to the United States involvement in World War II the Southern Baptist missionaries had contact with the Japanese aggressors mainly through Chinese Christians. As the Japanese increased the frequency and intensity of its military attacks on China's cities and villages, the missionaries' focus became one of offering refugee relief and medical

treatment to both Christian and non-Christian Chinese. Southern Baptist missionaries never seemed to have enough money to accomplish all they wanted to in China.

The unfortunate financial situation of the Foreign Mission Board in Richmond, due to the depression years, rendered the missionaries in the field almost financially helpless during the 1930's. The Foreign Mission Board appealed to its constituents in the United States to help supply money to the missionaries in China. Money was contributed and sent to China, however frequently the men and women relied on their own resourcefulness and support from Chinese Christians to continue their work.

War split China into free and occupied regions. Some Southern Baptist missionaries moved themselves and their institutions west to Free China to offer emergency assistance to refugees who fled the invading and brutal Japanese army. The Japanese in Occupied China, while causing great suffering to the Chinese population, allowed the missionaries almost unhindered, to continue to evangelize, teach and offer medical assistance to the Chinese. The situation in the occupied regions of China changed drastically immediately after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. When the United States and Japan went to war, Japan restricted all United States citizens, including religious workers, businessmen, and diplomats living and working in China, to their homes. Missionary activity ceased in the occupied regions and movements were restricted. Once the Japanese military had become more organized, foreigners were assembled and moved to detainment or concentration camps within China and Hong Kong. Several prominent Southern Baptist missionaries were incarcerated in China, Hong Kong, Macao, and the Philippines during the war. Southern Baptist missionaries who lived in these

camps found life difficult but they were not mistreated by their Japanese captors. Conditions were crowded, however those imprisoned were provided with essentials to enable them to remain relatively healthy until they could be repatriated. An account of their experiences under the Japanese is representative of a manner in which the Japanese treated innocent foreigners who were, by circumstances, trapped in a country with which it was at war.

The United States State Department negotiated with the Japanese government, through the neutral government of Switzerland, two formal exchanges of prisoners with the Japanese during the war. On two occasions a Swedish luxury liner, the Gripsholm, transported Japanese citizens who had been detained in the United States at the start of the war to neutral ports in Portuguese India and Africa in exchange for approximately 3000 missionaries, diplomats, and businessmen who had been detained or imprisoned by the Japanese at the start of the war. Southern Baptist missionaries' experiences as prisoners of the Japanese, and as repatriates, offer an insight into a little studied diplomatic exchange between Japan and the United States during World War II.

Primarily Foreign Mission Board materials, United States government documents, and missionary manuscripts were consulted during the research to write this thesis. Its purpose is to present the political and economic situation of Southern Baptist missions during the Sino-Japanese War, the experience of missionaries under their Japanese captors, and the missionaries repatriation to the United States.

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1936
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Shaded
0 100 200 300 400 500
Scale of miles

Chapter 1

A Century of Missionaries in China

The Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention was created in Richmond, Virginia to recruit men and women to be sent to foreign countries to convert portions of the population to Christianity. Previously there had been one organization which represented Baptists of both the Northern and Southern regions of the country. When the organization split due to differing goals and political philosophy, the Southern Board indicated its intention to continue the foreign ventures already begun by the single Baptist organization, with the option to act independently if it observed there was a need. On July 7, 1845 the first Southern Board formally announced its intentions with a resolution:

> The empire of China presents the widest and most important field for Christian missions in the world. For centuries it has been carefully closed against the ministers of Christ. Recently God has opened the way for the introduction of the gospel into that dark land of heathenism. Five ports of the empire have been declared free for the labors of Christian missionaries under solemn treaty stipulations. The efforts of the Baptist missionaries in China during the last year have been crowned with encouraging success. Just at this crisis events wholly unanticipated have hastened the formation of the Southern Baptist Convention. To the vast and inviting fields of China all eyes were anxiously turned. In view of these considerations, relying on the sympathy and cooperation earnestly praying for His guidance and blessing--Therefore
>
> Resolved, that, with as little delay as possible, we will proceed to establish missions in the free ports of China, or such of them as may be selected for the purpose.
>
> Resolved, that a committee be appointed to recommend, as early as may be convenient, suitable missionaries for this field.

> Resolved, that should the negotiation now pending with the Baptist Board of Missions in Boston for the transfer of the China Mission to the patronage of this Board for the transfer of the China Mission to the patronage of this Board prove successful then the missionaries selected may be employed to reinforce the existing mission: but should they prove unsuccessful, they may found independent missions.[1]

Henry Allen Tupper, in his history of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, wrote of the religious aspirations of the period: "When the leaven begins to work, the whole mass will move together, a common written language opens the mind of these immense multitudes to the Bible." The vision of the Board was in "taking the whole mass to the Lord," while undoubtedly, "He who does not see God in the missionary work of China has no eyes to see."[2] The philosophy of Tupper, and presumably the Board in general, was that "China only needs the gospel to be the greatest country in the world."[3] The Southern Baptist Convention, through its newly created Foreign Mission Board, was about to launch and support in varying degrees a parade of missionary men and women who were inspired for diverse reasons to travel to the other side of the earth to spread the word of God. These individuals would suffer hardships, famine, poverty, starvation, loneliness, long separations, frustrations, attacks and rejection. They would also endure, along with Chinese

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[1] Minutes of the Southern Baptist Convention Executive Committee Meeting, Archives of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, Richmond, VA. November 3, 1845, 21.

[2] Henry A. Tupper, Foreign Missions and the Southern Baptist Convention (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1880), 76-77.

[3] Ibid., 69.

Christians and non-Christians, almost continuous warfare in China, including strife between warlords, civil war, the Japanese invasion, and the Pacific World War. This missionary activity was initiated by the foundation of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1845 and its expressed intentions for its future activities in foreign lands.

Nearly one hundred years later the Foreign Mission Board had strengthened and expanded considerably. It consisted of thirty-six members-composed of twenty-two ministers, nine laymen and five women including eighteen representatives from the Richmond area and one from each of eighteen southern or western States. Each month the Richmond members met; every April and October the entire Board gathered at a location in one of the represented States. The Board embodied several committees including the Administrative Committee, Appointment Committee, Educational Committee and the European, Far Eastern, Near Eastern and Latin American Committees. The Foreign Mission Board eventually appointed an Executive Secretary for each of the foreign areas where missionaries were sent to the field.[4]

Although the Foreign Mission Board was created in 1845, Southern Baptists had been working in China as missionaries since 1836 when Jehu Lewis and Henrietta Hall Shuck began their labor in the Canton area. When the Board was formally recognized the Shucks

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[4] L. Howard Jenkins, "Business Methods in Kingdom Work," The Commission, October 1942, 324.

transferred their allegiance to the Southern organization thereby initiating a century of Southern Baptist presence in China.[5]

During the next one hundred years the Southern Baptists expanded into four areas in China proper, mostly spreading out from the more developed port areas of the country. Between the years 1845 and 1904 four main mission stations developed into major centers for Baptist evangelization among the Chinese people. In addition to a major city in each of the missions being a central location for Southern Baptist enterprises, numerous smaller stations gradually were established in towns and villages surrounding the major city to reach and hopefully convert greater numbers of the rural population.

The four principal mission stations founded in China were designated the South Mission, the Central Mission, the North Mission and the Interior Mission. Each was similiarily organized around a core city and each had, with minor exceptions, the same Baptist organizations, and its missionaries were involved in identical work among the Chinese.

By 1936, the South China Mission, where the Shucks began their work in China, was nearly a century old. Canton, was the first and largest station of this mission but there were outstations in Shiuhing, Wuchow, Kweilin, Waichow and the East River region, and Shiuchow and the North River region. Also under the South China Mission were missionaries and activities in Macao, a Portuguese colony, Kongmoon and Hong Kong.[6] In total fifteen

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[5] Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists Vol. I (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1958), 253.

[6] Ibid.

male and thirty-one female missionaries were working in this, the largest Southern Baptist mission, in 1936.[7]

The Central China Mission was established in 1847 by missionaries Shuck, and veteran missionary notables Matthew Yates, and T. W. Toby who, along with missionaries from most other religious denominations, began religious work in and around the port of Shanghai.[8] By 1936, the mission had expanded to include stations in Soochow, Wusih, Chinkiang, Yangchow, and Kunshan where twenty-four men and fifty-one women were preaching, teaching, and medically treating those associated with the mission institutions.[9]

Missionaries Jessie B. Hartwell and James Landrum Holmes founded the North China Mission in 1859. Although Hartwell began work in Tengchow and Holmes in Chefoo, Hwanghsien grew as the nucleus for this mission.[10] The other stations which had been established by 1936 were Lai Yang, Laichowfu, Pingtu, Tsingtao, and Tsinan, where nineteen men and forty-three women were stationed.[11] Until the 1931 Japanese invasion of Manchuria, the North Manchuria area, with its mission activities in Harbin, and the South Manchuria area,

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[7] Ninety-second Annual Report of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1937, end of report compilations, see appendix 1. Here after referred to as Annual Report, 1937.

[8] Encyclopedia of the Southern Baptists Vol. I (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1958), 253.

[9] Annual Report, 1937. See Appendix 1.

[10] Encyclopedia of the Southern Baptists, 253.

[11] Annual Report, 1937,

with Dairen as its center, were administratively considered to be part of the North China Mission. In the 1930s, as missionary work increased when the Board recognized the potential for expansion in the region, the Manchurian Mission was founded.

Last to be formally established by the Board in China was the Interior China Mission in 1904. The mission's territory included areas of Anhwei and Honan Provinces and work was begun in the region by veteran missionaries Wesley Willingham Lawton and William Eugene Sallee.[12] Its major stations were Chengchow, Kaifeng, and Kweiteh in Honan, and Pochow in Anhwei Province. By 1936, eight men and twenty-three women missionaries were under the auspices of the Interior China Mission.[13]

During the century that the Foreign Mission Board was expanding its missions in China the organization was also extending its influence to other countries. While Southern Baptist missionaries lived and worked Africa, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Yugoslavia, Mexico, "Palestine-Syria", Rumania, and Spain by 1936 China remained the country with the most Southern Baptist missionaries and the largest budget for another decade. Of the 417 missionaries the Board had placed in the international field in 1936, over half (214) were stationed in the China missions. In 1936 the Foreign Mission Board disbursed $1,058,614.10 to various recipients both home and abroad. The Board treasurer, E.P.Buxton, paid $803,694.75 of these funds to its foreign fields. Of this total, 44% ($350,172) was

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[12] Encyclopedia of the Southern Baptists, 253.

[13] Annual Report, 1937, see appendix 1.

dispersed to the China fields for missionaries' salaries, their Chinese employees' salaries, and various church, school and hospital structures, activities, and supplies. The China missions received 33% of the Board's total dispersed funds.[14]

During the 1930s the Foreign Mission Board's financial status was precarious due to the Depression years and the financial condition of the United States in general. In 1933 the Board owed four banks in Richmond, Virginia over one million dollars. It was unable to offer any funds to its foreign fields for repair and upkeep of the many properties it owned or rented and was forced to reduce it missionaries rolls due to its inability to pay salaries and offer support to missionaries in the field.[15] During the years 1918 to 1925, which Southern Baptists called the "high days", the number of missionaries in the field reached its height. In 1927 there were 544 missionaries assigned to Southern Baptist foreign missions. By 1934 this number had been reduced to 377. However, as more contributions in support of the missions began coming in from Baptist churches and schools in the South, the debt was partly repaid by 1936 and the number of active missionaries rose to 415.[16] Sixty-three of these were 60 years old or more and were reaching the age of mandatory retirement.

By 1936 the Board, with an improving financial situation, was calling for more and better qualified missionary volunteers. Experience had made the Appointment Committee more selective when reviewing the qualifications and motivations of those who volunteered.

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[14] Ibid., 251.

[15] Ibid., 154.

[16] Ibid., 156.

A short article in the 1937 Annual Report of the Foreign Mission Board to the Southern Baptist Convention entitled "Greater Care Exercised in Selection of Missionary Candidates" emphasized that Southern Baptist missionaries were being sent to foreign countries without adequate screening and preparation. Men and women went to foreign fields and rapidly became disillusioned when they were faced with harsh living conditions, language difficulties, warring countries, loneliness, and physical and mental strains. The situation was particularly acute in China where during the 1930s missionaries were working in areas of war and famine. The article reported the results of an in-house study which revealed that more than 150 missionaries resigned from the Foreign Mission Board during the years 1922 to 1930. The Board responded by implementing more stringent requirements for applicants for missionary service. In addition to hiring a new psychiatrist, the Board insisted that a missionary candidate must be a college and seminary graduate, of stable mind and body, between age 24 and 32, and of the "right spiritual attitude". In addition an aspiring missionary was required to face a final evaluation committee in Richmond directed by the Board's psychiatrist.[17]

The four main missions of China were operated similiarly to one another although there was little communication between them, especially in the early years. There were six main areas of work or target areas which concerned all of the mission personnel. Some missionaries were involved in several of the areas as their responsibilities tended to overlap, or as the need arose to work in more than one capacity when political or economic changes

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[17] Ibid., 157.

occurred in China. The areas of emphasis were evangelism, education, medicine, Christian literature, women's work, and work among youth. Out of these areas of interest arose increasing numbers of Chinese Baptist churches, kindergartens, elementary, middle and high schools, colleges and seminaries, Normal and Women's Training Schools, Bible Schools, Sunday Schools, Young People's Societies, and hospitals and clinics.

Evangelism

From the beginning the Southern Baptist missionaries considered evangelism their most important work in China, and preaching and converting the Chinese the main purpose for their labor in the country. The Southern Baptists preached the gospel wherever groups of Chinese gathered. Locations and methods of evangelization were varied. Village preaching consisted of two women and two evangelists per tent.[18] Victor Koon, a missionary in Chengchow, Interior China, described the "tent work" as a "little group of workers who pitch their tent in a new territory where the people are willing to listen and stay for a week or more." The missionary hoped to leave behind a band of converted Christians who would form the nucleus of a new Christian Church. Then the "gospel car" would drive to a new village to again erect the tents and attempt to plant another root of Christianity.[19]

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[18] Annual Report, 1934, 184.

[19] Ibid., 187.

The missionaries first preached in the main city of a mission territory with the hope that outstations would be created in the countryside surrounding the main station, where as soon as there were a number of converts, a small church was established in a structure rented from the Chinese. While the outstations varied in size, most were made up of a single or pair of missionaries and a number of Chinese assistants who preached to villagers from tent locations. Frequently Baptist missionaries traveled deep into the countryside to spread the work of God. Reba Stewart, a single female missionary, worked alone among the "Long Haired" people, mountain villagers from Kwang Si Province.[20]

Baptist men and women displayed creativity and endurance in their attempts to spread the gospel among the Chinese. During his travels in the eastern harbor at Tsingtao, North China, John Lowe carried a "pill bag" and involved himself in "treating peasant ailments, to the delight of all the villagers" in his attempts to involve the Chinese in conversations about religion.[21] In North China missionaries who lived in the Pintu area expressed pleasure that "a new evangelistic opportunity has been afforded us" when they wrote to the Foreign Mission Board that they would be allowed to preach at the local government Opium Cure Refuge. Interestingly, not only were missionary personnel permitted to preach to the inmates, they were encouraged to "take daily oversight of these patients."[22]

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[20] Ibid., 213.

[21] Ibid., 201.

[22] Ibid., 198.

In 1936, the year before the four missions began to be affected by the Japanese invasion of large portions of China, the South China Mission included 56 churches and 68 outstations with a total membership of 14,124. Ten churches were located in the main station of Canton with Tung Shan Church the largest with a membership of about 2,000. The North China Mission, which still included statistics from the future Manchurian Mission consisted of 85 churches and 102 outstations with a total membership of 17,257. Many of the pastors of these churches were Chinese, perhaps in part due to the shortage of missionaries in the field.[23] The Central China Mission had 41 established churches and 23 remote churches with 6,573 parishioners on its rolls. Shanghai, the main station, was the location of the 1000 member Old North Gate Church, which was founded by Matthew Yates. Shanghai was the site of six churches. The Interior China Mission, where "country work" was the emphasis, consisted of 21 churches and 81 outstations and 3,403 membership. Of the total 203 Southern Baptist full churches in all four stations, sixty-nine were self-supporting, meaning that no funds from the Foreign Mission Board were directed toward its operation and it was entirely run by Chinese Christians.[24]

As the small churches increased in number associations were created. These groups eventually grew into the Leung Kwong Association, in Kiangsu, North China, and the

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[23] Annual Report, 1937, 210.

[24] Ibid., Statistical tables in appendix 1.

Honan-Anhwei Convention, which was established for organizational and administrative purposes.[25]

While the Southern Baptists may have had as their primary emphasis evangelism and conversion of the Chinese populace as their goal and, in fact, had baptized 3,891 Chinese in 1936, the number seems small when considered in context. In 477 churches and outstations, these statistics yield eight converts per Baptist location. This figure does not even include the numbers of "Gospel Tents" that were erected in villages and marketplaces throughout China. So the actual number of converts was not high.

Education

There were, however, many Chinese converts to the Christian education. Children and adults attended mission schools in large numbers. The Southern Baptist missionary work that can be considered most successful and was most readily received by the Chinese people was in the area of education. Southern Baptist Schools thrived in all its China Missions. Chinese parents wanted their children educated and the Nationalist Government, due to its increasing contact with the West, wanted their youth educated. The traditional Confucian schooling, with its emphasis on the memorization of the Four Classics had gone out of fashion. The new government in China believed that to defeat the Japanese and to win the civil war against the Chinese communists, a more educated populace, which was accustomed to Western ideas and

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[25] Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists, Vol. I., 254.

had experienced Western schooling, was essential. The Baptists, along with numbers of missionaries from other religious denominations, were in the right place at the right time to offer an educational experience to not only the youth of China but to men, and more notably, Chinese women, who had in most cases never had, due to cultural beliefs, the opportunity to learn to read their own language prior to contact with missionary women.

Missionary women, married and single, devoted their energies to the development of an educational system in China most particularly for adult women and girls. During the time of missionary educational efforts in China there was a transformation in both cultural attitudes and official policy toward Chinese women. Missionaries, in part, like to take credit for this progress.[26]

Southern Baptist women were heavily involved in education in China, especially after 1890. Janie Stanford Graves, wife of famed missionary, scholar, and Chinese translator Rosewell H. Graves began Pooi To, the first Baptist day and boarding school for girls and the first Bible Women's Training School in the South China Mission for the women in the Canton region. This location was chosen as an academic site because Baptists believed that educational reform and Western ideas "have met with a readier and more sympathetic acceptance here that in other parts of China" due to extensive merchant and banking activities

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[26] Jane Hunter, The Gospel of Gentility (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 21.

in the region.[27] As Pooi To increased in size and importance and enrollment grew, some very successful students were to continue their schooling in the United States.

Second to the Bible, Chinese was the subject most emphasized in the schools. Missionaries were the first translators of Chinese classics and they compiled the most widely used Chinese-English dictionaries in the country.[28]

Mission schools followed the traditional Chinese manner of education, using the Classics for their study of the language. Pooi To taught the Bible and Chinese classics during its early years. The following is the early curriculum for the girls' school:

Chinese Courses	Religion Courses
Book of Changes	Isaiah
Three Character Classics	Matthew
Book of Odes	Mark
Mencius	Luke
Mencius II	John
Confucian Analects	Acts
Classics Later than Confucius	Corinthians
and Mencius	Galatians
	SanTzu Ching
	(Three Character Classics)

Descriptions of geography lessons, during which students studied the history, culture, religion and wild life of India from National Geographic Magazine, suggest that a broader and more varied educational experience was offered the Chinese student. True Light Middle School

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[27] Mary Anderson, Protestant Mission Schools for Girls in South China 1887 to the Japanese Invasion: A Cycle in the Celestial Kingdom (Mobile, Ala.: Heiter-Starke Printing Co., 1943), 281.

[28] Ibid., 280.

conducted hand-on science experiments directed by the teachers, which included the effect of vitamin deficiency on white rats. Mary Anderson, a teacher at True Light Girls' School taught classes on malaria, a disease all too familiar to the Chinese students. [29] This instruction offered students their first exposure to information about the cause and prevention of the disease.

During the years before the fall of the Ch'ing Dynasty missionary schools were the only means by which a Chinese woman could be educated. Amazingly by 1909 more than 13,000 girls were attending school in China and a number were attending schools overseas. Overseas education was the only other option for Chinese women at the time. When Chinese revolutionaries retreated to Japan following the Boxer Rebellion, among the student revolutionaries was a small number of Chinese women, some who had unbound their feet. These women were students. For both groups, those who remained in China and the women abroad, this period in Chinese history represented a trend of literary skill development, a new look at the weaknesses in family life, and an assessment of social restrictions.[30] A surprising number of Sun Yat-sen's Revolutionary Alliance organizations members were women whose agenda was to "strengthen the role of women within a new Chinese state."[31] In later years the overseas educated Chinese woman and those who had attended mission schools joined

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[29] Ibid., 317.

[30] Jonathan D. Spence, The Search for Modern China, (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1990) 214.

[31] Ibid., 261.

forces to challenge the traditions of a country which had long limited the educational and cultural opportunities of its women.

Southern Baptists established a number of enthusiastically received schools in China. The educational network founded by the Southern Baptists grew from a few missionaries teaching small numbers of adults and children in their homes to large complexes where thousands of Chinese were taught to read and write. The growth reflected the changes in governmental policy during the century when the Chinese political system was in turmoil. The mid-1930s a significant trend continued when Chiang Kai Shek, President of the Nationalists, issued an official government decree reversing the former governmental education policy which "had greatly hampered and largely defeated all educational work in Mission schools." Prior to this decree the new Chinese government had enacted a law forbidding the teaching of the Bible or religious subjects as required subjects in all registered schools.[32] The mission in Wuchow, South China, had particularly suffered from anti-Christian feeling where church workers were stoned and the government closed the Waang To Girls' School.[33] When the Chinese government transferred their capital to Kweilin, South China, and there was a resulting influx of government officials and soldiers, the missionaries on the scene complained to the Board that they were having difficulty protecting their property.[34]

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[32] Anna Mae Smith, Adventure With Rose (Georgetown, Ky.: Georgetown College Press, 1964), 1.

[33] Annual Report, 1937, 193-194.

[34] Ibid., 196.

Nevertheless when the Nationalist governmental policies began to favor mission schools, the policy increased the opportunity for missionaries to reach Chinese men, women, and children through expanding educational goals.

In 1936 the South China Mission was operating nineteen academic schools ranging from kindergarten to the middle school level. A total of 5124 were attending these schools. More than 1500 of the student body were female students. Most of the schools, particularly in the Canton area were founded at nearly the same time as the mission was founded, and were started by Rosewell and Janie Graves. Pooi To Girls School and Pooi Ching Boys Academy enrolled numbers of students who were not Christian, as that was not a requirement for admittance. While the teachers, all of which were Christian, hoped to win souls through their educational efforts, many of the students remained non-Christians despite extensive Bible and religious teaching within the schools. Lydia Greene, a missionary in Waichow, South China reported to the board that "Many contacts were made through the children. Children themselves have been most zealous in telling the Gospel story to their mothers and fathers."[35] Presumably this was the rational for accepting non-Christians- for the potential of converting entire families through the children.

The Central China Mission was responsible for overseeing 43 kindergarten, elementary and middle schools by 1936. In addition the Southern Baptists had founded the University of Shanghai where 920 males and 308 females were taking college courses. The

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[35] Ibid., 198-200.

North China Mission area, including Manchuria, operated eighty-six schools, most lower elementary, where 3459 students were receiving instruction from Christian teachers. At least 1500 of these students were female. In the higher elementary and middle schools of this mission more Chinese females attended school than males. There were seventeen schools operated by Southern Baptists in the Interior China Mission. While there was no middle school, the level to which most students in other missions aspired, 407 students attended the kindergarten and lower elementary, and 20 female students attended the upper elementary, the highest level of education offered in the school system of this mission.

In summary, at the four main Southern Baptist mission stations and their surrounding stations and outstation there were in operation in 1936 twenty kindergartens, 103 lower elementary schools, twenty-five higher elementary schools, seventeen middle schools, and one college. The total number of Chinese students being taught by missionaries or missionary trained Chinese Christians was 15,097.[36]

Young People's Work

Schools were not the only organizations which the missionaries formed to gather and teach the young people on China. The Southern Baptists patterned the organization of their mission churches and schools after those in the United States. An important organization of any domestic Southern Baptist church was its Young People's Society. In 1936 there were

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[36] Ibid., 191.

1,481 Southern Baptist societies for youth in foreign lands. One-hundred ninety were in China and over five thousand Chinese youth were involved in their activities. Perhaps the most notable organization for the amount and breath of activity for its youth was the Leung Kwong Baptist Young People's Organization in Canton. While not representative of *every* Southern Baptist run youth group in China it represented the model toward which all churches were working to both lead and instruct their young members. The Leung Kwong organization had a twenty-one member Board, with a budget of $1,407.00 and was tasked with guiding and monitoring the varied activities of the group. The young peoples organization had 1500 members (composed of 20 senior, 15 intermediate, 17 junior unions and 8 Sunbeam Bands) on its rolls and they participated in social activities and devotional exercises along with competing in contests which might include the memorization of Confucian analects. [37] There were Daily Vacation Bible School, "evangelistic" bands, classes in the "teaching of illiterates" and fundraisers and collections for other missions such as Manchuria, and sometimes as far away as the Palestine Mission. The Baptists preferred to work with Chinese children who *had* parents and families, as they realized through their students, all family members became potential religious converts. Unlike other religious denominations in China, most notably the Roman Catholics, the Southern Baptist did not want to become involved in establishing orphanages in their missions. While they operated numbers of boarding schools, the students in these schools usually had families who were contributing financially, at least in part, to pay

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[37] Annual Report, 1936, 198.

for the Western education of their children. The Foreign Mission Board was unable to support large numbers of abandoned children with personnel or money. Missionary work frequently evolved into care of orphaned and abandoned children. Some missionaries formally adopted children and in a few cases homes such as the Leung Kwong Baptist Orphanage and Old People's Home, in the suburbs of Canton, and Pu Kong Orphanage in Shuichow, South China were established. After 1937 missionaries would increasingly be faced with the question of what to do with the children they saved by feeding them when they were suffering from famine and war. Orphaned children, whether the Foreign Mission Board desired it or not, became a problem faced by missionaries each day in the coming decade.

Christian Literature

The Southern Baptists could not have "spread the Gospel" without the ability to translate the religious words into language that the average Chinese could understand. Once he or she could read, the potential convert was able to learn more about the beliefs and requirements of the Christian religion. It was not long after the missions were established that missionaries recognized the need to print their own material in large quantities. In 1899 the China Baptist Publication Society was established in Canton as a result of cooperation of both Northern and Southern Baptists to fulfill the demand for religious publications. Later the organization and printing machinery were transferred to Shanghai and in 1930-1931 an eight-story building became the center for the publication of all Baptist religious materials in China

and the headquarters for all Baptists living and working in China. The China Baptist Publication Society evolved into one of the largest foreign publication enterprises in China. From the Shanghai office came religious tracts, hymnals, literature for Bible and Sunday schools, the many texts used in the schools, Gospel reprints, Bibles and the Baptist True Light monthly magazine, for dispersal throughout China.[38] In 1936 the Society had a subscription listing of over 44,000.[39]

Medical Work

Spreading the gospel and educating Chinese adults and children were main aims of the missionaries in all four missions, however their efforts were also directed toward delivering Western medicine and medical training to the populace. The Warren Memorial Hospital in Hwanghsien, North China was the first major medical facility founded and operated by the Southern Baptists. Prior to the opening of Warren Memorial, medical missionaries had treated patients in outpatient clinics and dispensaries. The hospital's founder was missionary Thomas Willburn Ayers. In later years the missionaries founded Leung Kwong Hospital in Canton, Stout Memorial Hospital in Wuchow, South China; the Bagby Memorial Hospital in Yangchow, Chengchow Hospital and the Pochow Hospitals in Interior China; the Kathleen Mallory and Mayfield-Tyzzer Hospitals in Laichow, and the Oxner-Alexander Memorial

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[38] Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists, Vol.I, 255.

[39] Annual Report, 1936, 208.

Hospital in Pingtu, North China.[40] All began as very small and rudimentary outpatient clinics and grew to be considered major and respected facilities in China.

When Bagby Memorial Hospital, a hospital for women and children in Yangchow, was opened by missionary nurse Edna Teal, she described it as "not a very auspicious beginning."[41] Prior to the opening of Bagby, the facility had consisted of a twenty-four by twenty-four foot room. Kang-like structures had been built as beds and women were lying on the floor with their heads on hay surrounded by tea and chamber pots, debris and clothing.[42] Bagby, opened in 1912, offered cleaner conditions, maintained the favored kangs, but still had "no bathtubs, no tables, no linen, no running water."[43] Veteran nurses were encouraged that Chinese women would even consent to being treated by foreigners in their hospitals.

Once the Baptist medical missionaries began work in China, they recognized that treating Chinese women for their ailments would be nearly impossible for male physicians. Rosewell Graves, a veteran missionary, described the sick person in the country as "lying on a hard board with only a mat beneath him, often in a dark, foul-smelling room," but, he added,

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[40] Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists, Vol. I, 255.

[41] Torbet, Robert G. A History of the Baptists. rev. ed. (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1963), 11.

[42] Edna Earle Teal, My Walk with God in China: An Autobiography of Edna Earle Teal, R.N. (Orlando, Fla.: Daniels Pub. 1973), 34.

[43] Home and Foreign Fields, April 1918, 22-24.

"with a man it is often bad enough, with a woman it is usually worse. . . she is expected to do much more for herself."[44] He wrote, to encourage more volunteerism, "there is a crying need for medical missionaries to relieve the ailments of humanity."[45] He especially appealed to American women to volunteer to work with Chinese women and emphasized that the women did not even have access to their own male doctors because of their "ideas of propriety." He added, "The profound ignorance of the native faculty, and the seclusion and modesty of the female members of most families open an unlimited field in China for the lady physician."[46]

Virginian Jeannette Ellen Beall was a physician who received an appointment to China in 1919 and spent thirty-four years working among the Chinese. Although her letters to the Board indicate a preference for preaching the gospel rather than medical work, most of her efforts went toward equipping and operating the Mayfield Tyzzer and Kathleen Mallory Hospitals in Laichowfu, Shantung Province in North China. Much of her correspondence consisted of appeals for more missionaries and more money to continue operating the hospitals. She also detailed the difficulties in treating Chinese women.

In the hospital's early days demonstrations of child care were conducted by doctors and nurses. Beall stated that the women refused to even look in the direction of the demonstration due to the fear that "foreigners kill babies, cut out their eyes and make

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[44] Roswell H. Graves, Forty Years in China, or China in Transition. (Baltimore: R. H. Woodward Co., 1895), 228-229.

[45] Ibid., 226.

[46] Ibid., 237,

medicine of them." The Chinese women feared the tea served to them in the hospital, thinking it was poison, and some women "held on to their children with an iron grip."[47]

Jeannette Beall's official correspondence indicates that there was a shortage of male medical missionaries. She believed the need was great. In 1939 her house in Laichowfu, Shantung Province, burned to the ground. She wrote to Dr. Mallory, the Board corresponding secretary:[48]

> I feel sure had we had a man here, especially one like Dr. Bryan, the house could been saved. The boys tried to get to the chimney, but the ladder was too short, and they did not know how to manage. I was so anxious about them that my brain did not function. I do not believe in "petticoat rule." I hope we get a man soon. I do not think women ought to be alone at Stations especially these days.

Much of the medical missionary correspondence reflected difficult work and frustrations. Many of the women, including Dr. Beall, wanted more time for evangelization among the Chinese but they almost never felt they could leave the mission station.

In 1936 Dr. Robert E. Beddoe was directing the operations of Stout Memorial Hospital, its nursing school and free clinics. Beddoe, his correspondence to the Foreign Mission Board reflecting the evangelist first philosophy which was the philosophy of many but not all Baptist missionaries wrote: "Evangelist work is given first place," noting that he

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[47] Jeannette Bealle to the Foreign Mission Board, April 14, 1933, Bealle Papers, archives of Foreign Mission Board, Richmond, Va.

[48] Jeannette Beall to Dr. Mallory, Foreign Mission Board corresponding secretary, May 12, 1939, Bealle Papers, archives of the Foreign Mission Board Richmond, Va.

had instituted a new policy at the hospital which required that the facility have on staff the same number of "full time evangelists" as physicians.[49]

The Southern Baptist work in the medical field would expand greatly during the years that the Japanese were attempting to take over all of China, not necessarily in evangelical endeavors. Missionaries would not only treat other missionaries, but care for soldiers injured in battle and treat thousands who suffered from famine or wanted to escape war-torn areas.

In 1936, before the medical missionary personal began to experience the more devasting effects of the war and destruction which would affect China in the coming decade, the hospitals and clinics continued to progress and operate as they had during the previous decades. Southern Baptists had initially opened clinics which expanded into full hospitals. Eventually nursing schools were established to train Chinese women to medically treat other Chinese women.

The Tai Kam Leper Colony, founded by missionary doctor John Lake, was under Southern Baptist auspices. Staff at the colony provided shelter, food, medical treatment and religious activities for approximately 140 patients.[50]

In 1936 the Foreign Mission Board reported to the Southern Baptist Convention in its Annual Report that Baptist medical personnel in China had treated almost 87,000 patients. This figure included the care of the Chinese population and the treatment of other

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[49] Annual Report, 1937, 195.

[50] Ibid., 192.

missionaries, as was often needed. Almost half of the treatments, which included major surgery along with other types of medical treatment, were performed in the South China Mission where four missionary doctors along with 19 native physicians in nine permanent hospital facilities cared for over 56,000 patients in one year. The North and Interior China Missions each had seven treatment buildings and Central China had five. There was a total of 129 missionary-trained Chinese nurses working with the missions as a result of the nursing school established by the Baptists. In addition to China, only in Africa were Southern Baptists involved in 1936 in training the native population in medicine.[51]

Women

No story about the Southern Baptist missionary experience is complete or can even be told with accuracy without a description of the women who worked as missionaries in China. Some were married women and had accompanied their husbands to the field. They raised their families while founding and working in mission schools. Many more were single women who spent a major portion of their lives working in China. The China Missions could not have existed to the extent they did without *single* women particularly.

The Foreign Mission Board, in its early years, would not accept single women who applied to work as missionaries in China. However, from the time the Board began sending workers to foreign fields, single women applied in such numbers and with such insistence they

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[51] Annual Report, 1937, Statistical Tables in Appendix 1.

would not be refused so the Board began sending a few selected women overseas on a trial basis.

Perhaps the most well-known and the most representative single Baptist female who chose preaching as the focus of her activities in China was Lottie Moon. Moon was born in Charlottesville, Virginia on December 17, 1840 and was a missionary in North China for thirty-nine years. She was considered by her teachers to be one of the most highly educated women of Virginia and was a scholar of Latin, Greek, Spanish, French and Italian. In later years she became proficient in German and Hebrew. The study of the Chinese language was easy for her and she became quite fluent in several dialects. Appointed to China in 1873, she spent the majority of her years near Pingtu and the surrounding areas. She founded and taught in several small Baptist schools for Chinese children but most of her time was spent visiting small villages, living with Chinese families, and trying to convert them to Christianity. Often, particularly in later years, the four foot six inch woman dressed in traditional layered Chinese clothing, which attracted the attention of those she wished to reach. Moon was a prolific writer and her letters to the Board consisted of detailed accounts of her travels. On a trip to Tung Chow on a donkey, she vividly described the reception she received. She wrote," The women were at first uncertain whether we were women or men, but on being informed that we also were women, they crowded around."[52] Moon commenced preaching the gospel, but her descriptions suggest that the Chinese were consistently more interested

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[52] Lottie Moon to H. A. Tupper, Foreign Mission Board corresponding secretary, April 14, 1876, Moon Papers, archives of Foreign Mission Board, Richmond, Va., 2.

in the curiosities of contact with a foreigner, than they were in the foreigner's religion. Moon taught the children religious hymns and spoke of Christianity, but converts in high numbers were never achieved. On the trip to Tung Chow, however, Moon was given two young Chinese girls to take back to the school she operated from her home in Pingtu. Moon did not write of the family situations of the children, but she did comment that other families in the village wanted to send their daughters with her, "They might have come at once, but for want of clothing. We require their parents to clothe them."[53] The families may also have needed the Baptist missionaries to feed them.

During the history of their experience in China single women worked in the most remote areas - often alone with no companionship other that their Chinese friends and converts (coworkers and servants). As previously described they founded and administered most of the Baptist schools and young people's organizations. They arrived in China prepared to work as doctors and nurses, sometimes because they were inspired to spread the gospel in addition to having more freedom to practice medicine in China than in the United States during the period when work for women was restricted to working in local hospitals or teaching in hometown schools.

Female missionaries proved they were more able to gain entree into Chinese people's homes more readily than male missionaries. They were able to spread Western culture and religion by befriending Chinese women. As a result of this contact Chinese women were

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[53] Ibid. 4.

taught to read their own language, in many instances, for the first time in their lives. For their part, female missionaries acquired an insight into the Chinese culture, family life and traditions of the people and were able to convey through their correspondence, prolific writings, and church lectures when home on furlough, information about a foreign country of which, at the time, most Americans were ignorant. While the main task of the women was to spread Western ways of living along with Christian religious beliefs, many grew to respect and admire some characteristics of Chinese beliefs and traditions.

Financially, the Foreign Mission Board, particularly during the Depression years, would not have been able to sustain its foreign missions without the dedication, selflessness and fundraising capability of Baptist women. When the Board encountered financial difficulties and increasing debt and was unable to pay its missionaries their full salaries, the women accepted less, and used the remainder to finance their mission work. The Woman's Missionary Union, a national organization composed of Baptist women, supported the Foreign Mission Board during those financially difficult years. In 1930 the Lottie Moon Christmas Offering, a Woman's Missionary Union sponsored collection paid the salaries of 100 missionaries. [54]

The Baptist women in China, especially during the invasion of China by the Japanese, endured all the hardships, including living in Japanese occupied missions, and were incarcerated by the Japanese military in greater numbers than were male missionaries. In 1936

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[54] Annual Report, 1931, 154.

there were sixty-six male missionaries in China and 148 women-eighty two of them unmarried.[55] They are responsible , in large part, for the continued operation of the Baptist efforts in China during the war year. They accomplished much of the relief work, and corresponded with the West when missionaries were endangered and detained by the Japanese during World War II. Pearl Johnson, a single female, was the last Southern Baptist missionary to leave China in 1951. They are a major portion of the Southern Baptist missionary history in China, and are a topic for further detailed study.

At the end of their first century in China the Southern Baptists were celebrating what they had achieved in the area of evangelism, education, literature publication, medicine, youth work, and work by and with women. So on October 13-18, 1936 in Canton, in the South China Mission more than 900 Southern Baptists in China joined in celebration. They had traveled from nine provinces to celebrate the one-hundredth anniversary of missions to China. During the festivities those prominent in the organization looked forward to continued growth as they announced a five year plan with the goal of doubling the Baptist church membership within the country.[56] Little did they know that events which would occur in China beginning the following year would forever change, and eventually lead to the demise and termination, of Southern Baptist and all missionary efforts in China.

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[55] Annual Report, 1937. Appendix 1.

[56] Ibid., 187.

Chapter 2

The Sino-Japanese War and Southern Baptists Missions

Manchuria, a fertile grain producing region in northern China, had been a Chinese province for three hundred years when the Japanese began to establish a more conspicuous presence there in 1931. It contained the country's most important reserves of coal and iron. Japan, a power of increasing ambition and importance in the 1930s, wanted access to these natural resources. Prior to the 1930s Japan had been gradually infiltrating the province as a result of international decisions and agreements. In 1905 Japan was granted a lease that included rights to construct the South Manchurian Railway. In addition, as dictated by the Twenty-One Demands in 1915, Japan was granted the right to operate iron and steel companies and to own mines in Manchuria.[1] As a result during the Revolutionary Period when China was preoccupied and weakened from civil war, the Japanese were able to strengthen their position in the country by increasing the number of businesses and military troops to support their industrial operations in the province. Manchurian warlord Chang Tso-lin was assassinated by the Japanese in 1928. His son the "Young Marshall" Chang Hsueh-

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[1] John Robottom, China In Revolution, (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1967), 79. and Jonathan D. Spence, The Search for Modern China, (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1990), 285-286.

liang continued to contribute to the aggressors' difficulties. Japan attempted to dominate the region and expand its influence but both warlords sided with Chiang Kai-shek and tried to defend China's interests in Manchuria.

The escalation of Japanese aggression, directly leading to the Sino-Japanese War, dates from September 18, 1931, when the "Mukden Incident" occurred in Manchuria. The "incident" consisted of a faked attack by Japanese troops on the South Manchurian Railway. The following day, in retaliation, Japanese troops advanced on Mukden. Chiang appealed to the League of Nations to investigate the actions of the Japanese and a League Commission of Inquiry found that there was no justification for the aggression. Japan was ordered out of Manchuria.[2] Instead of complying with the League's judgment Japan resigned from the organization and reinforced its presence in the province.

The Mukden Incident led to increased Japanese aggression throughout Manchuria and troops quickly and systematically spread to conquer the entire province. The Japanese declared it "Manchukuo," an independent kingdom, theoretically governed by a Manchu Emperor. The "emperor", in fact, was a puppet of the Japanese whose actions were controlled by the commander of the Japanese military forces in Manchuria.[3]

The Manchurian affair incited Chinese students and intellectuals to protest against the Japanese. They called on Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalists to lead the country in a full-

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[2] Ibid., 81.

[3] Ibid., 81-82.

fledged war to drive the aggressor from Chinese soil. The loss of Manchuria meant that China lost its best arsenals.[4] Chiang believed that in the period following the Mukden Incident China was still too weakened by civil strife to combat the Japanese. Prior to confronting the Japanese military the Chinese people had suffered flood, famine, banditry, wars between local warlords, foreign invasion, and class struggle.[5] The Nationalist leader suspected that no other nations would join in his efforts to rebuff the aggressor, and feared that an all out attack on the Japanese military would encourage the Japanese to move south and east leading to their increased occupation of Chinese territory. Finally, Chiang's first priority was to defeat the growing numbers of Russian Soviet-influenced Chinese Communists, centered in a region of China entitled the "Kiangsi-Honan Soviet" and led primarily by Communist chiefs Mao Tse Tung and Chu Deh.[6] While Chiang agreed with Sun Yat-sen's "Three Principles of the People," for China to survive as a nation- Nationalism, Socialism, and Democracy, he believed that, in order to increase nationalistic feeling among the populace, foreigners must be driven out of the country and the Nanking government strengthened.[7] "Foreigner" to Chiang during

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[4] Walter H. Mallory, "Japan Attacks: China Resists," Foreign Affairs Journal,(January 1938) 139.

[5] Edgar Snow, "China's Fighting Generalissimo," Foreign Affairs Journal, 615.

[6] Robottom, China in Revolution, 18-82.

[7] Edgar Snow, "China's Fighting Generalissimo," Foreign Affairs Journal, get date, 615.

this period meant primarily the Communists who were gaining strength in the countryside and creating a potential threat to his personal mandate to rule China.

The Nationalists and Chinese Communists fought while Japan extended its occupation throughout northern China in the early 1930s. The Sian Incident occurred on December 12, 1936. Manchuria's military leader Chang Hsueh-liang arranged for the kidnapping of Chiang Kai-shek and the successful coercion of the leader to unite the fighting warlords and cooperate with the Chinese Communists in their effort to resist the Japanese. The United Front Agreement was assented to by the former foes. The Japanese realized that leaders of the Nationalists and Communists were now prepared to cooperate and increase resistance to occupation by the Japanese military. The aggressors reacted to the new truce by attacking Chinese troops stationed outside of Peking on July 7, 1937 at Lukouchiuo (the Marco Polo Bridge incident), thus initiating what was to be an eight year full scale war fought on Chinese territory.[8] Within six months of the attack, Nanking, the Nationalist capital, fell to the Japanese.[9]

War in China for both foreigners in China and the entire Chinese population meant disruption of normal living. This disruption influenced not only Southern Baptist missionaries but missionaries of all denominations who were living and working in China.

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[8] Robottom, China In Revolution, 99.

[9] Hollington K. Tong, ed., China Handbook, 1937-1943: A Comprehensive Survey of Major Developments in China in Six Years of War, (New York: MacMillan Co., 1943), 350-351.

The war sometimes dictated a complete alteration of their daily activities. War produces refugees, casualties, famines, and the need for personnel to organize and direct relief efforts for its victims. While missionaries were sometimes victims of the Sino-Japanese War, more often they were responsible, in large part, for offering aide to displaced and injured Chinese. There was little discrimination on the part of the missionaries in offering aid to the average Chinese and the converted Christian. The missionary remained in China to help native Chinese endure the effects of both civil war, *and* invasion and occupation by a foreign power.

The Japanese Occupation of China

While there is a great deal of published literature available concerning the Japanese invasion of China and the relief efforts made by the Southern Baptists and various other Christians groups and humanitarian societies during the war, it is the missionaries' journals, diaries, and unpublished manuscripts which create a picture of what day to day life was like in an area of China which was occupied by invading forces. The missionaries had some common experiences and also, individually, some very unique experiences due to the their location, position, or acquaintances. Their written observations and opinions provide detail about the events and living conditions of missionaries and foreigners living and working in China during the 1930s.

During the decade immediately prior to the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the United States entry into World War II the missionaries' lives were increasingly affected by the Japanese soldier. The Japanese military took over a particular region and established a puppet government which in turn affected the lives of the Chinese Christians with whom the missionaries worked on a daily basis. The Japanese occupation initially hampered mission life and work of the missionaries. The restrictions on missionaries in newly occupied areas were rigid at first, but eventually they had freedom of action within an occupied city or village but were required to obtain a permit from Japanese authorities to travel from one city to the next.[10] There was considerably less danger in a region which was already occupied by Japanese forces than there was in an adjacent unoccupied area that was in danger of being taken over. The possibility of being bombed was always a threat in unoccupied territory. Although bombs were comparatively small compared to those dropped on China after the start of World War II, and they were not aimed directly at American property, some missionaries were caught in bombing targets prior to Pearl Harbor.[11]

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[10] James T. Williams, I Was There: A Story of the Experiences of the Southern Baptist Missionaries in China During the Period of War and Communist Conquest, (manuscript in archives of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, Richmond, Virginia, 1964). The author, a Southern Baptist missionary, also compiled statements by missionaries entitled Letters and Statements from Missionaries Who Were in China at the Time of the Japanese War and During the Rise of Communist Power Which Resulted in the Dispersion of the Missionaries,(manuscript in archives of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, Richmond, Virginia, 1963).

[11] Williams, I Was There, 90.

Evacuation of territory being bombed by the Japanese was an experience common to many missionaries. A standard procedure was followed when a Japanese plane was sighted moving inland by the Chinese army. Military personnel wired ahead to spread the alarm to the city or town that enemy planes were approaching. The populace was accustomed to hearing a siren which was a warning for the population to hide in a safe area. They ran for any shelter.[12] Oz Quick, a missionary who lived in Kweilin, recalled that on some days the siren was heard several times and men, women, and children would scramble to nearby hills to hide in caves which offered a natural protection.[13] When convenient shelter was unavailable missionaries dug large holes in the ground to accommodate and protect several people at once.[14]

Travel by train was particularly hazardous during the occupation. Missionaries, when permitted by the Japanese, had to travel by train to unoccupied areas to purchase supplies, food, medicine, and other necessities to maintain their mission operations. When a warning siren was sounded, a train was stopped and passengers would scramble into the countryside, or lie in nearby rice fields until the signal was silenced and an "all clear" was communicated.[15]

Charles Leonard, a missionary who had served in Laichowfu, Shantung Province for seventeen years beginning in 1910, and resided in Harbin Manchuria during the Japanese

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[12] Ibid., 83-84.

[13] Oz Quick, interview by author, Tape recording, January 16, 1995.

[14] Williams, I Was There, 85.

[15] Ibid, 84.

occupation, is the best example of a Baptist missionaries' dealings with and observations of the Japanese army. His writing offers many details of Japanese behavior toward the population of Manchuria and toward the foreign missionary.

Leonard believed that the blowing up of the South Manchurian railway in Laichowfu, which was responsible for the escalation of Japanese military action in China, was a "ruse" and was Japan's excuse for acquiring Manchuria and initiating the takeover of large areas of China. He blamed the United States and Great Britain's governments for not following the recommendation of the Lytton Commission.[16] This group was commissioned by the League of Nations to investigate the Japanese military activity in Manchuria and Leonard played a part in its information gathering from his position in Manchuria. He told them what he knew.

Leonard contended that Japanese troops had been preparing throughout South Manchuria to immediately take over all large cities following the Manchurian Incident. Although the claim was never verified he stated that he heard rumors among the Chinese that, mistakenly, Japanese troops marched into Antung, the Korean-Manchurian bordertown to the South two hours before the Mukden affair occurred.[17]

While Leonard was living in Harbin, Japanese planes dropped leaflets printed in the Chinese and Russian language over the city. The literature explained the Japanese actions as

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[16] Charles Leonard, Repaid a Hundredfold, (manuscript in the archives of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, Richmond, Virginia, August 1967).

[17] Ibid. 236.

efforts to "free the people of misrule and injustice," and assured the populace that when the army entered Harbin "all would be made free, happy and prosperous."[18]

Leonard also asserted that there was evidence that the Japanese encouraged lawlessness on the part of the lower echelon of Chinese society. He believed the Japanese purposefully encouraged unrest in the society so they could more easily convince the general population that the Japanese military, rather than the Nationalist government, was the stabilizing element.[19]

In 1940 Dr. L. E. Ayers, a Baptist missionary and physician, communicated to the Board the details of opium drug addition in China due to its reintroduction by the Japanese military. He labeled the spreading of the use of this drug the "greatest atrocity committed by the invaders." Concerning his medical practice among the Chinese he reported that once the Japanese army invaded and occupied a particular region in China, behind the soldiers came " an army of drug peddlers, intent upon the purpose of spreading opium and heroin" in the country. The drugs, according to Ayers, were distributed free of charge, and "heroin cigarettes" were sold by young Japanese women who "lured young men into opium dens." He reasoned that the Japanese introduced opium into areas of China because "drug addicts are not potential warriors." Apparently the Japanese did not widely use the narcotics they desperately wanted to spread among the captured populace. Japanese military officers, from

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[18] Ibid., 238.

[19] Ibid., 245.

the start of the undeclared war, prevented their own men from using the drug. A quotation from a soldiers' handbook by the Japanese Military Command in Manchuria both discouraged the use of opium and reflected the racism and sense of superiority that the Japanese felt toward other peoples. It stated, "The use of narcotics is unworthy of a superior race like the Japanese. Only inferior races, races that are decadent like the Chinese, Europeans , and East Indians are addicted to the use of narcotics. This is why they are destined to become our servants and disappear." Reports from missionaries in Harbin supported Ayers claims. Chang Ching-wei, sometimes described as an "opium sot" was reportedly paid 10,000 yen by Japanese officials who made him the new Civil Governor after the takeover of Manchuria. He was later made Premier of Manchukuo and a puppet of the regime.[20]

The Japanese war was, Ayers asserted, in part financed by the cultivation and sale of the drugs. In addition to distributing the addictive drugs on the street, Ayers reported that opium dens operated by the Japanese were wide-spread in China. By the end of 1940 there were over 300 dens designed for drug use in Peking alone, and most cities occupied by the Japanese had numbers of opium dens. This was another source of revenue for the invading military. Each den paid $50.00 for the Japanese Consolidated Tax Bureau. Each opium shop paid the Japanese between $100.00 and $150.00 per month to remain in operation.[21]

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[20] Ibid., 236.

[21] Ibid., 246.

Another source of drug related revenue for Japan was the $10.00 local currency tax on each mow (1/6 acre) of land which was used for poppy cultivation. Further, there were taxes on intermediaries, but the wholesale opium business appeared to Ayers as prevalent and extremely profitable for Japan. Ayers believed, and communicated to the Foreign Mission Board, that Japan was using the country as a center of operations to not only support their war in China but, he asserted, to initiate and maintain a world-wide drug operation that was a threat to many countries including the United States. He called for all Christians to "join in a great fight against this drug evil." [22]

In support of the theory that the Japanese encouraged lawlessness in Chinese society, missionaries reported that rifles and ammunition were left at locations along railroad lines by the Japanese army for use by Chinese bandits. In addition, cases of rifle shells were pushed off trains to increase lawlessness. Leonard observed conditions worsened considerably due to Chinese and Russian outlaws infiltrating Harbin and joining forces with the lower elements of the society. Leonard described the worst of conditions:

> People were not safe, even in daytime. In the evenings one could frequently hear screams or cries for mercy as people were kidnapped on the streets or taken from homes. Most Europeans had bodyguards to accompany them on the streets.[23]

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[22] S. E. Ayers, M.D., "Opium Traffic in China," S.E. Ayers, M.D. The Commission, (December 1940), 341.

[23] Leonard, Repaid a Hundredford, 246.

Leonard personally conducted the funeral of an English woman who was murdered by four armed Chinese bandits in a Russian owned yard while trying to protect a child who was the target of an attempted kidnapping.[24]

Leonard expected more casualties when the Japanese took total control of Harbin. Before the military entered the city he and some other Chinese Christian leaders gathered to form the Christian "White Cross Association" and were given permission to operate a military hospital within the city walls. After borrowing buses they drove to the fields to search for wounded soldiers to transport for treatment. Leonard's position in this operation was one of a "go-between" if Japanese officials questioned the operation. He described the atmosphere:

> It was necessary to go by Old Harbin one morning to arrange for bringing wounded soldiers from the streets to the hospital. There were so many dead bodies that I remained to have them covered because their clothing had been stolen They were lying about among dead horses and mules without any care what so ever. The people seemed even afraid to cover the bodies for there was a Japanese garrison nearby.[25]

Leonard said that Japanese soldiers tried to loot the hospital but usually an appeal to the ruling administration would halt the banditry.

Despite the rigidity of the situation, the missionaries were permitted to carry on evangelical activities. Even in Leonard's military hospital the Japanese allowed the preaching of the gospel. Unimpeded by the occupying forces, Christian volunteers and nurses read religious literature to patients, wrote letters for soldiers and tried to convert and baptize the

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[24] Ibid. 247.

[25] Ibid., 241-242.

patients.[26] When Japanese soldiers finally entered areas of Manchuria every soldier had a map of the territory. Villagers were assured beforehand by Korean and Japanese civilian emissaries that all would be peaceful and they should offer no resistance. Chinese officials who feared arrest commandeered automobiles or buses and fled with their families from Harbin and other major cities. The Chinese officials who remained were often slain. Any village that resisted was destroyed. Leonard remembered, " It was pitiful to see disorganized groups of Chinese troops fleeing through Harbin, some directly under our windows." Chinese soldiers tried to loot stores, most particularly Leonard recalled, shoe stalls, as they left and were shot at by Japanese soldiers.[27] Most of the native military had been engaged in war for a long period as numbers of men had participated in the Sino-Russian conflict, which was in part, fought in the outskirts of Harbin.

When the Japanese arrived in Manchuria they made anyone who could speak even a little Chinese or Russian an "advisor." Leonard asserted that most of these individuals were criminals, more specifically smugglers, sellers of narcotics, and brothel keepers. Most had been protected by extraterritorial rights and could not be prosecuted under Chinese law. They were made department heads and in some cases were given the power to make life or death decisions concerning the fate of Russians and Chinese. Leonard described these new "power mongers:"

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[26] Ibid., 244.

[27] Ibid., 238-239.

> Those who yesterday were the scum of the earth, despised and hated by every one, suddenly found themselves at the head of administrative department, with full power. They levied taxes and demanded tributes. They committed other atrocities. For example, shortly after one "advisor" to the police force came to power he issued orders for the arrest of wealthy Chinese and Russian farmers and subsequently collected hefty ransoms for their release. [28]

When the Japanese military finally took formal control of Harbin they announced that on a given date there would be a "great demonstration of Japanese power and military strength" to further allow them to gain control of the city. This was standard procedure in the larger, more populated regions that the Japanese military occupied. On the day of the demonstration people came to line the streets as they were curious to see what the new conquerors would do. " Generals and other army officers were first to parade down the main corridor. The rode large healthy animals. Then automobiles and truck loads of soldiers, tanks, and numbers of mounted and unmounted soldiers passed in review."[29] Russian women wept and Leonard was unsure whether it was because they were sympathetic to the Chinese people or because "they believed a better day had come for them." Approximately 250,000 "White Russians", who had supported the Czarist regime had been assured by the Japanese military that it would overthrow the Soviet government in Russia and restore the old form of government in the country. In addition to sympathetic Russians, there was also some sympathy among the native Chinese for the Japanese invaders.[30] Conditions had been so poor

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[28] Ibid., 240.

[29] Ibid., 239.

[30] Ibid.

for the populace due to banditry and poor government that some Chinese were willing to cooperate with any rulers who offered better conditions than those under which they lived. Quickly, both groups would decide, conditions were not going to improve under a Japanese puppet government. Within weeks of the first Japanese demonstration the Russians again were refugees, this time fleeing Manchuria for their lives.[31]

After the takeover of Harbin the Japanese began staging political celebrations all over Manchuria and forced the Chinese to attend the ceremonies in large numbers. Soldiers traveled from house to house and business to business to force the population to attend the celebrations. School children and their teachers were paraded along the sidelines of the crowd so that they could be photographed by military personnel. Leonard believed that photographs of children rejoicing at the takeover was good propaganda material for the press in Japan. These demonstrations were most numerous when representatives of the League of Nations Lytton Commission were in Manchuria investigating the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. The "Dove of Peace" an emblem the Japanese displayed prominently and referred to as "That Old Bird" by the region's missionaries, was used in attempt to minimize the Japanese role as aggressor in northern China.[32]

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[31] Ibid., 240.

[32] Ibid,. 245.

Southern Baptists and the Japanese Military in China

Southern Baptists missionaries had been living and working in China for about one hundred years when the Japanese invaded Manchuria in North China. During this one hundred year Baptist effort to spread the gospel among the Chinese, the Foreign Mission Board opened and expanded four main missions: The Central China mission, with Shanghai as its focal city; the North China mission, with activities in eight cities in Shantung Province; the Interior Mission, with Honan Province as its central focus, and the South China Mission, a large mission complex with the heavily populated city of Canton as the center of the mission's evangelical and educational focus. The North Manchurian area was the first Southern Baptist region to be affected by the Japanese army's invasion of China. The Southern Baptist Convention had purchased a large residence in Harbin, Manchuria and had, prior to the Sino-Japanese War, entertained plans to expand extensively in that area of China. The undeclared war between China and Japan delayed their expansionist aspirations in North China and Manchuria just as it interfered with the work in the other mission stations.

In 1924 the Southern Baptist Convention was intrigued by the Frontier Mission Movement led by Pastor M. T. Yang of Chefoo, Shantung Province. The mission movement consisted of a concerted effort to expand mission activities in North Manchuria. Christian influence in this region did expand. Much of this expansion was financed by Woman's Missionary Unions based in the United States. The movement slowly but steadily strengthened, and by 1936 the China Baptist Centennial, held in Canton, heard Dr. Herman

C. E. Liu, a Chinese Southern Baptist preacher announce, "for our concrete forward program I wish to propose that we start the frontier missionary movement. Let us pray and plan to send missionaries to the frontier regions of Mongolia, Sinkiang, Tsing Hai, and Tibet."[33] In October 1938 the North China Baptist Convention initiated the Frontier Mission Committee to promote a Frontier Mission Movement in Shantung, North China Mission.[34] Not only was the approval of such an expansion of mission activities a reflection of the Southern Baptist Convention's intention of remaining in China and continued growth, but it also was a reaction to the reality of the political and war time situation in China which threatened the more populated and industrialized regions of China.

By the time the Foreign Mission Board had approved the expansion of its missionary territory it's medical, educational and war relief activities had greatly increased. While evangelism was still very much a component of their daily activities, the teaching of the Bible and attempts at obtaining more converts was often intertwined with more pressing needs of the moment during war. Not all Southern Baptist missionaries in the field approved of this trend. Dr. Robert Beddoe, a veteran China missionary was one of these. He disapproved of the direction the Southern Baptist Convention was taking and expressed his view in an editorial The Commission publishers labeled: "One Missionary's Dream for the New South China" in part, because it contradicted Convention executive officers' China plans. As

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[33] Mary C. Alexander, "Frontier Mission Movement in China," The Commission, March 1940, 77.

[34] Ibid.

Beddoe reflected on the great migration of Chinese, particularly the upper class and more educated in the population and the missionaries and institutions who followed them, he called for redefining Southern Baptist goals. He believed that a greater emphasis on "evangelistic opportunities" was preferable to the direct establishment of schools and hospitals staffed with Southern Baptist missionaries. During the 1930s, he pointed out, there was a dwindling number of these facilities sponsored by Baptists. He called for the formation of four new missions in South China-in Kwongsi Province, Kweichow Province, Yunnan Province and Szechuen Province. He believed that a new mission formation policy should have two major goals. First was to evangelize, and then organize the churches into "self-propagating agencies." He contended, "schools and hospitals should be the outgrowth of mission work, and not superimposed upon a native constituency that is unable to support them," which was clearly the situation of the Southern Baptists in China. This unfortunate situation, Beddoe argued, forced the missionaries to attempt to gather financial support from the Chinese populace, or worse, appeal to the Foreign Mission Board for funds that were just not available. Although Beddoe admitted to the "evangelistic possibilities of such institutions," he believed that, realistically, the era of establishing such institutions and indefinitely staffing them had passed. Beddoe called for *no* property purchased and *no* structures built by the Foreign Mission Board, and he envisioned "limited stations" rather than large missionary

complexes. He stressed that "methods and plans must be changed to meet present conditions."[35]

While there were Board members who shared his point of view, and perhaps many in the field did, many also did not. During the Chinese war with Japan there were missionaries who could not obtain enough funds to accomplish the work they felt they had to do. However Beddoe was an influential missionary who controlled access to the money in China.

Margie Shumate was a single Southern Baptist missionary who lived and worked alone in Sun Hing, Kong Tung Province for twenty years. During the war years she pressed Beddoe for funds she believed she needed and deserved. Beddoe, in his position as Treasurer of China Missions during the war years, frequently did not approve Shumate's requests for additional funds, and details of these disagreements reached the Board's Executive Secretary Dr. Charles E. Maddry in Richmond, Virginia. In her correspondence Shumate's plea for more money to help war orphans reflected desperation:

> Conditions are heartbreaking. The little children who are slowly dying of starvation all through those counties are pitiable indeed. You all please get all the money for relief you can. We think it is terrible to be facing a half a million starving people.[36]

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[35] Robert Beddoe, "One Missionary's Dream for New South China," The Commission, August 1939, 265.

[36] Margie Shumate to Dr. Charles Maddry, December 31, 1942, (Shumate papers, archives of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, Richmond, Virginia).

The Board published her letters and pleas for aid and Southern Baptists at home read them. Friends in the United States responded to Shumate's appeals by donating money in her name. Nonetheless it was difficult for Shumate to obtain these funds in China. Shumate complained to Maddry:

> Dr. Beddoe seldom gives me any of those special gifts. I made him give me some which the donors had written me that they wanted me to use the money personally, and not contribute it to the work, but I felt that Dr. Beddoe did not want to give any of the money . . . . Every cent is so sorely needed.[37]

Shumate appealed to various charitable organizations in the United States for contributions to her cause, including the New York City based Church Committee for China Relief.[38] The organization sent Shumate $100,000.00 for use in orphan relief work.[39] Dr. Charles Maddry, executive secretary of the Board warned Shumate by letter:

> I greatly sympathize with you in your efforts to provide for the starving children and people of your district . . . . We have been concerned, however, that you might find the need so great that you would create an orphanage problem for us when the war is over. Please understand that we can not go into the orphanage business permanently. The Board cannot go into the orphanage business in *any* country . . . . We must set ourselves to the preaching of the gospel . . . . Also we are trying to save a little for the rehabilitation and re-establishment of our work when the war is over.[40]

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[37] Margie Shumate to Dr. Charles Maddry, September 2, 1943, Shumate Papers.

[38] Margie Shumate to Mr. Lockwood, December 15, 1942, Shumate Papers. Lockwood was a representative of the Church Committee for China Relief in New Youk.

[39] Margie Shumate to Dr. Charles E. Maddry, September 2, 1943, Shumate Papers.

[40] Dr. Charles E. Maddry to Margie Shumate, January 4, 1944, Shumate Papers.

Shumate continued with her relief activities despite the concerns and preferences of the Board and remained one of the most stalwart missionaries the Southern Baptists had stationed in Free China during all the war years.

In 1937 the Japanese invaded China, and the Southern Baptists activities altered to accommodate the conditions of war, famine, relief and aide in refugee resettlements. When possible their work in the mission stations continued as it had for the previous one hundred years. Their concerns were for the expansion of activities, with a large focus on evangelism in the countryside. Tent meetings were held with, at times, a few baptisms performed. Bible schools were established in remote areas and in villages as refugees moved westward. During the century, the Southern Baptists had expanded their work in education, particularly in the cities and in main stations of each of the five missions. More financial support came from the Chinese Christians or was voluntarily donated from missionaries salaries. The situation of many missions was similar to the one the missionaries in Tsining in the Central China mission faced in 1934. They reported to the Foreign Mission Board that they were compelled to close two Baptist schools because of "lack of funds." During the decade they "reduced their teaching force," and began combining schools in response to increased governmental regulation, war, diminished funds, and lack of replacement missionary personnel.[41]

During the 1930s the medical goals of the missions were expanded and at times strained due to the war and famine situation in China. While each main mission station had

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[41] Annual Report, 1934, 201.

at least one major medical facility, much of the medical work done by the Southern Baptist nurses and doctors was done in clinics and that was interspersed with evangelical activity. For instance, in Lungshan medical personnel conducted a "market clinic," held literally in the market area of a village, where mostly women and children were treated for a variety of ailments including sores, burns, and respiratory ailments.[42] Usually missionaries accompanied the medical missionary personnel to preach the Gospel, read bible stories to the patients, and distribute religious literature which was printed in Chinese characters.

While witnessing to the sick was often an effective method to obtain converts to Christianity during the period of the Japanese invasion, the "street chapel" was still a favored method to reach and attempt to convert the Chinese populace. While this type of evangelizing had been utilized by the Southern Baptists and many other denominations in their early years in China, even in the 1930s the missionaries continued to erect tents in the most populated areas to gather crowds and attempt to spread their religion, and distribute literature. Female missionaries conducted "house to house" visiting to gain access to Chinese women and children.[43] This was a difficult task, particularly in upper-class Chinese families where women's activities and their exposure to the public were more limited.

Easier to gain access to than women and children were those who were being detained in Chinese prisons. During the early years of the Japanese invasion, for instance, in Tsining,

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[42] Ibid., 203.

[43] Ibid., 199.

a prison head, who had converted to Christianity, allowed a Southern Baptist missionary into the "model" prison to attempt to convert prisoners.[44] In addition, missionaries, through arrangement with the local Chamber of Commerce, gained access to government "Opium Cure Refuges." For reasons that are unclear these missionaries were requested to take over the daily operations of the facility, in addition to preaching and distributing religious literature.[45]

By 1936 the Japanese army had already moved into and taken control of a number of cities in Northern China. Their movements and the effect on the Chinese populace interrupted them but did not greatly discourage the Southern Baptist missionaries from attempting to carry out the evangelical, educational, and medical activities within their four mission areas. In reports sent annually by each mission to the Foreign Mission Board, to include in its lengthy and detailed Annual Report, missionaries wrote often of the Chinese Communists, the guerrilla supporters of Mao Tse Tung and their attempts to infiltrate the countryside to spread opposition to Chiang Kai Shek and his Nationalist forces in the civil war which was being conducted intermittently as both groups resisted the Japanese takeover of China. Dr. J. R. Saunders, a missionary in the "North River Field" in Kiangsi Province, South China, complained of being caught in fighting where "government forces have at last scattered the Reds."[46] In Kweilin, missionary Pearl Johnson wrote that in her mission station

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[44] Ibid., 204.

[45] Ibid., 198.

[46] Ibid., 210.

area "strong fortifications have been made against the advance of the Reds."[47] In the early 1930s there was as much mention of the civil strife between the Soviet supported Chinese Communists and the United States backed Nationalists as there was documentation of the Japanese invasion's effects on the missionaries activities in the affected areas.

The contrast between the 1930s and early 1940s - the period just prior to the beginning of World War II in Asia - is dramatic, reflecting the greater dominance and presence in China of the Japanese in the later years. By January 1940 the actions of the missionaries in North China were considerably more restricted. The Commission informed its readers that "Christianity faces . . . restraint in China where there is Japanese control." The missionaries in some areas of North China, it reported, were now expressing doubt as to whether they could continue any of the work they had been involved in prior to the takeover. In many cases they were trying to escape areas of fighting and had lost property and possessions. One missionary reported to the Board, "Japanese army authorities . . . have practically forbidden sectarian work in the occupied areas."[48] While existing churches were allowed to keep their doors open, no new sectarian churches were permitted, and denominational names had to be eliminated from already established churches. After almost a decade of its missionaries facing the Japanese army in China, the Board was still hopeful as it wrote, "Let us hope that this is only a temporary, local army regulation, not a general

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[47] Ibid., 212.

[48] M. Theron Rankin, "After Fifty Years in Japan-What?" The Commission, January 1940, 4.

policy to be enforced so long as Japan remains in power."[49] The conditions would only worsen as the United States and Japan approached war while the Sino-Japanese War continued.

Japan, Southern Baptists, and United States Policy

In 1935 there were almost six thousand Protestant missionaries,[50] and six thousand Roman Catholic missionaries[51] living and working in China. While some of the missionaries returned to their homes when Japanese military operations escalated in 1937, four thousand Protestant missionaries remained, representing over one hundred mission organizations by 1941.[52] A parent organization-- the National Christian Council of China--helped to consolidate and offer direction to the efforts of all member denominations.

In 1922 The National Christian Council of China (NCC) was founded to "promote unity and cooperation among all church bodies." It was composed of all national Christian educational and cultural organizations and provided the denominations working in China with a single guiding body which represented all Christian missionaries. [53] When the war against

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[49] Ibid.

[50] Hollington K. Tong, ed., China Handbook, 1937-1943, 761.

[51] Ibid., 779.

[52] Ibid., 761.

[53] Ibid., 768.

Japan intensified in 1937 the NCC officials offered guidance to the denominations. Basically the organization's personnel dealt administratively with only one relief committee in each Christian community. An international and inter-denominational committee in each region, which included both Protestants and Catholics was preferred by the organization. Within days of Japanese hostilities in Shanghai in late 1937 the National Christian Council (NCC) War Relief Committee was formed to disburse funds to individual committees to aid them in offering emergency relief to displaced Chinese. Funds were used for food, clothing, and medical supplies, and programs were established for needy and orphaned children. In all of the NCC funded relief committees "need" was the only criteria to receive emergency aid. Acceptance of the Christian religion was not required of recipients.[54]

The most essential needs were medicine and food relief. The National Health Administration of the Nationalist government of China offered funds to missionary hospitals to treat wounded soldiers and civilians. The Council on Medical Missions in China, which had been founded in 1887, requested that missionaries vaccinate soldiers and refugees, provide special treatment facilities for cholera patients, offer free treatment for orphans, and provide any other wartime related aid.[55] The American Advisory Committee, under State Department auspices had the responsibility for providing famine relief, particularly during the early 1940s in Honan. In October 1941, when the region was invaded and occupied by the Japanese,

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[54] Ibid., 760.

[55] Ibid., 776.

farmers evacuated their fields so wheat could not be planted on time. In addition, frost and drought affected other essential crops leading to mass starvation and migration. The American committee allocated five million dollars in 1942 for Honan famine victims. These funds were directed to the Honan provincial government and, in turn, were dispensed to local charitable organizations-mainly local missions- to provide direct relief to the famine victims. Grain was purchased and medical care was provided. Aid was also given to refugees passing through the area. A major westward migration took place during this time and five dollars was given by committee representatives to each refugee who traveled west to escape starvation and the battlefield.[56]

During the mass westward migration from Honan and China's coastal provinces many Christian organizations relocated to the more rural West China. This trend, a major consequence of the Japanese invasion of more industrial and populated parts of the country, provided not only large numbers of potential Chinese converts to western regions. As more missions moved their stations to the interior they brought new scientific, agricultural, and rural welfare changes to both Christians and non-Christians.[57] Interestingly, examples of Christian charity during this period of strife between the Chinese Communists and Chiang's Nationalist party attracted many rural Chinese, who had been told that empathy with the poor was solely a Communist concern. As a result there was increasing Communist hostility toward

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[56] Ibid., 729-730.

[57] Ibid., 763.

the missionaries in West China.[58] This uneasy relationship between the missionaries and Communists was to increase during the post-World War II civil war in China.

The Foreign Mission Board and the Relief Effort

The optimistic view of the benefits of its presence that the Southern Baptist Convention maintained through the 1930s was not limited to the situation in China. It seems that while it was not the anticipated situation for the Southern Baptists that Japan was invading and occupying increasingly more of China, and controlling more and more of its territory and resources, practically speaking the denomination's goal was to maintain a presence in both Japan, and amid the Japanese in China with the hope that Japanese Christians would meet Christians in China and together they would work toward the spreading of the Gospel. The Board hoped that no matter what the political situation in the areas of China occupied by the Japanese military might be, the Baptist religion would take hold and prevail. While on occasion the missionaries received more consideration from converted Japanese military officers or soldiers, the spread of Christianity was never reported the motivation of any Christian Japanese soldier in China.

The publications of the Southern Baptist Convention *did* include political opinion concerning the United States position on supplying arms to the Japanese to enable them to continue its military aggression in China. An editorial in The Commission, dated February

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[58] Ibid., 782.

1939, detailed a conversation between a Chinese man and an American Red Cross physician. The physician stated that the Chinese asked accusingly: "Well, after all, your country supplies the Japanese with aeroplanes, the aviation gasoline, the lubricating oils, the bombs, why shouldn't you provide the medical supplies for the victims of the bombs?" The editorial continued, "The Chinese could save their country and their freedom if only against Japan, but it is very doubtful if they can against Japan *and* America. The Japanese are using four to five thousand American motor trucks in Shensi Province enabling them to outmaneuver the Chinese troops entirely."[59] The Chinese man's criticism reflected United States law which permitted the shipping of supplies to belligerents if they were involved in fighting an undeclared war. Since the Sino-Japanese War was an undeclared war, interested countries could continue to ship to Japan the supplies necessary for it to maintain its aggressive position in China. Reflecting opposition to the situation Southern Baptists asserted, "Our President had not yet been able to discover this most inhumane war and so has steadily refused to put up against the greed of American War mongers."[60]

The Commission published missionary authored articles calling for Americans to withdraw from its "partnership" with Japan. A pamphlet for purchase entitled "America's Share in Japan's War Guilt" was advertised in The Commission. The author encouraged its readers to action: "Our friends in China are pleading with us to bring every possible influence

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[59] W. O. Carver, "Is America Japan's Ally Against China?" The Commission, February 1939, 39.

[60] Ibid.

to bear upon President Roosevelt, Secretary Hull, and our representatives in Congress, to induce them not to be responsible for the destruction of China."[61]

Given an opportunity missionaries communicated to the United States government and the rest of the West the details of the treatment of the Chinese by the Japanese invaders. One Southern Baptist missionary, Charles Leonard of Harbin, is such an example. He was visited by newspaper correspondents who wanted to report about conditions in Manchuria under the Japanese occupation. They interviewed him several times. An American newspaperman, who Leonard refers to as "Mr. Steele" informed him that he had visited Chinese General Ma Chan Sha in Northern Manchuria and the general had pleaded for aid and world-wide public condemnation of the Japanese. He asked that his wishes be forwarded to the League of Nations Commission when they were visiting Manchuria. Steele interviewed Leonard for lengthy periods to confirm the general's accusations- which Leonard did on the condition that the newspaperman did not reveal his identity. Although Steele, during the interview period agreed to the condition, Leonard was named as a source when a series articles was printed in the United States. Word that Leonard had spoken against the Japanese invasion of Manchuria got back to Japanese military officers. They responded by calling Leonard in for questioning. One of the colonels explained to him, "You see, people believe what missionaries say. Especially this is true in America. Such reports can, therefore be detrimental to Japan's reputation and her plans in the Far East." While Leonard was not

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[61] "Is America Japan's Ally Against China?" The Commission, February 1939, 39.

especially harassed for giving information and expressing his opinion to the newsman, the military suggested that he first consult with the Japanese before expressing his opinions to Western newsmen.[62] This kind of incident did little to encourage other missionaries to speak frankly about conditions under Japanese rule.

In fact, Leonard felt ambivalent about the Japanese takeover of Manchuria and felt he had received insufficient guidelines from his government about the United States policy toward the Japanese in China which he seemed to interpret as temporary approval or at least acquiescence to the invader actions. He expressed his confusion:

> No other power had approved Japans's invasion of Manchuria, neither had any recognized the puppet government she had formed or her right to exercise political power in Manchuria. Then why should we, representatives of those countries, do otherwise? Besides, we missionaries were in Manchuria long before the Japanese military came and we were friends of and were working for the people whom the Japanese military would subjugate and were already mistreating. Everyone felt sure that the Japanese army would be forced to leave Manchuria as soon as the Lytton Commission's report was reviewed.[63]

Leonard, and other Southern Baptist missionaries were sorely disappointed.

While the undeclared war had been going on for most of the 1930s in North China, after 1937, when the Japanese drastically escalated their military maneuvers, the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, faced with its missionaries caught in a warring area, realized it must offer guidelines to satisfy and protect the missionaries in the

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[62] Leonard, Repaid a Hundredfold, 248-249.

[63] Ibid., 250.

field. In addition the Board wanted to reassure its constituents, particularly the missionaries' families in the United States, that measures were being taken to protect the missionary from unnecessary risks in the field. On October 12, 1937, the Foreign Mission Board adopted a set of "Guiding Principles" for the information of those carrying on their work in the Orient. It stated, "While pledging to cooperate with others to maintain all possible activities and attitudes . . . to minister to the relief of human suffering . . . all activities in China in connection with hospital and nursing service, schools and churches, which are deemed essential and which can be maintained, deserve and should have the utmost support of the Board."[64]

The Board recommended that women and children who were living in dangerous or war-torn areas in China be evacuated. In all cases final evacuation decisions were left to individual missions. The Board asserted, "We authorize the continued service of such missionaries as freely elect to remain and whose remaining is approved by their respective missions acting after their consultation with the Chinese convention concerned."[65] The Board was cautious to ascertain that Chinese Christians were not put in more dangerous positions because of their association with missionaries. On occasion, particularly in North China, the missionaries had been told by the Chinese that they were fearful of association with mission personnel. However this fear did not seem to be widespread.

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[64] E. B. Willingham, D.D., "Baptist Work Extends Sympathy to China," The Commission, January 1938, 4.

[65] Ibid.

The Board recommended that all missionaries who were either leaving China or remaining in mission territory to operate under the following guidelines:

> To avoid unnecessary risks both for their own sakes and in order to minimize the danger of involving their own nation.
>
> To remember that their privileged position as neutrals involves the obligations of neutrals, Particularly to refrain from acts of military value to either side,
>
> To regard their personal safety and that of their Chinese associates as of more importance that the protection of property.[66]

In allowing the missionaries to, by choice, stay in the China field, the Foreign Mission Board was, in effect, acting contrary to the United States State Department recommendation to citizens living and working in the Orient to immediately evacuate the country. The recommendation may have prompted the published statement in The Commission, "The members of the Board do not desire or expect that any injury suffered by their missionaries or any damage to their property shall be made a cause of war or the threat of war or of reprisals."[67] However the tone of the Board revealed its conviction that Baptist missions in China should go forward even under conditions of war in the Far East, and, most preferably, missionaries who were physically able and not in eminent danger should remain. Many did so.

One-hundred-fifty missionaries did continue to work in China but the Foreign Mission Board was not able to financially support even this smaller number. It appealed to its constituents in the United States to contribute money to support its missions in wartorn

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[66] Ibid., 4.

[67] Ibid.

China. It called people to action to contribute whatever they could, and numbers did contribute despite the Depression years. The Board petitioned its readers:

> The Board is confident that the churches desire earnestly to translate their testimony into deeds of mercy. The suffering cries of multitudes of children, of wounded men, of homeless refugees, of sick and hungry people must be answered not only by words of pity, but by self-sacrifice pouring out of the resources of love and service. The churches and supporting friends are urged to supply a generous measure of relief funds which the Board is prepared to administer and also to stimulate and cooperated in the wider appeals of other appropriate agencies.[68]

Early in 1939 Charles Maddry, Executive Secretary to the Orient, L. Howard Jenkins, President of the Board, and R. S. Jones, Home Secretary appealed directly and specifically to Southern Baptists to contribute money. They petitioned "those to whom God has entrusted money" to give generously, and to "place the Foreign Mission Board in your will." They further requested that pastors of churches submit the names of parishioners who might be viable contributors so that the Board may contact them directly.[69] The appeal for contributions from the readers of The Commission was accompanied by letters from missionaries describing famine and war conditions in their areas. The tone of this correspondence directed to the Board was often a desperate plea accompanied by photographs of refugee women and children suffering from seemingly hopeless conditions or fleeing the Japanese military. Margie Shumate's letters and photographs were frequently

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[68] Ibid., 4-5.

[69] "An Earnest Appeal," The Commission, May 1939, 129.

published in The Commission to help the Board disseminate information about the need for refuge relief money in China.

Despite the lack of a specialized organization to coordinate the relief campaign for China, the Foreign Mission Board was able to raise a substantial amount of money. Between the years 1937 and 1941 the Southern Baptists sent $127,681.28 for the relief effort in China as a result of appeals to their constituents.[70]

While the Board contributed to the relief of wartorn China, their losses in the country as a result of the war mounted. Stout Memorial Hospital, one of the Baptists' largest and most active hospitals in South China, was destroyed when it was bombed by a squadron of Japanese aircraft. The hospital had been obviously marked as a medical facility. Medical personnel who reported the destruction described the scene as, "Sick and helpless patients machine gunned with an unreported number killed."[71] The Board condemned this attack by the Japanese by declaring, "The military rulers of Japan have deliberately and systematically endeavored to destroy every cultural and humanitarian institution in China."[72]

Frequently the Board published its losses. The known losses totalled in the hundreds of thousands of dollars. Some of the property which suffered the most destruction as a result of the war by 1939 were:

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[70] The Commission, March 1942, 126.

[71] "Our Losses in China," The Commission, January 1939, 21.

[72] Ibid., 29.

University of Shanghai	$100,000.
Ming Jang Boys' School	30,000.
Eliza Yates Academy	25,000.
Ming Jang Missionary Homes	40,000.
Sallee Memorial Church	10,000.
Cantonese Girls' School	75,000.
Cantonese Church and Primary School	50,000.
Grace Church and School	50,000.
Church and Home at Chinkiang	25,000.
Stout Memorial Hospital	80,000.
Chengchow Hospital	25,000.
Looting of missionary homes	40,000.
Total	$555,000.[73]

The Southern Baptist Convention leaders were faced with a dilemma when they attempted to formulate a policy and define its attitude toward the Japanese and the military's actions in China. Southern Baptist missionaries had been living and working in Japan for almost one-hundred years when Japan invaded China in the 1930s. The Board representatives felt compelled to issue a statement about the situation. Theron M. Rankin, the Board's

[73] Ibid., 20.

Secretary to the Orient, in a featured article in The Commission, addressed this problem of action and attitude when he wrote:

> In Order to be able to see, amid the obscured vision caused by the war, we must be able to reconcile two great truths. We cannot reserve our judgement in the face of that which we know is deplorably, shockingly wrong, and remain Christian in our attitude. At the same time, we cannot be Christian and condemn with any measure of hatred and personal animosity in our hearts. These two truths can be reconciled only in a various love which loves all the more poignantly as it condemns.[74]

To encourage his readers Rankin asked that they "visualize as individuals those Japanese Christians who made up the Baptist organization in southwestern Japan." There were high schools, colleges, publication facilities, and goodwill centers in four mission stations located in the country. Despite the comparatively small numbers of Christians in Japan, Rankin expressed the belief that Japanese Christians would exert a positive influence on the people as a whole "far above their proportional strength in numbers."[75]

Again the publishers of The Commission did not refrain from publicly condemning the policies of the United States which furnished Japan with the means to carry on the war in China. Rankin wrote: "As Americans we have a deplorable part in Japan's war. We are furnishing her with the supplies for her ruthless invasion of China."[76]

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[74] M. Theron Rankin, "After Fifty Years in Japan-What?" The Commission, January 1940, 1.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid.

Rankin believed Japanese Christians were so influential that he informed his readers that the Japanese military had proposed to use Japanese Christian ministers as "agents of goodwill" in China and that this proposal had actually been discussed in the Japanese Diet.[77]

Prior to the bombing of Pearl Harbor the Executive Secretary wrote: "Japan needs our love, not our hate," as he attempted to influence Southern Baptists to condemn Japanese military actions in China. Nevertheless he encouraged them to support the missions in Japan as avenues to influence the Japanese people and counter, in part, the damage and devastation that was being inflicted on China by the invading country.[78]

The Foreign Mission Board was to support both an Occupied China and a Free China and, after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, face the capture and internment of many of its missionaries. The dilemmas it encountered included the problem of how to free those interned while maintaining the desired religious presence in a country at war.

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[77] Ibid. In fact, missionaries in the field reported that a group of clergymen from Japan resettled in Manchuria and attempted to convince Chinese pastors and religious workers that they should participate with the Japanese as they set up a puppet regime. The clergy was accompanied by an American missionary who spoke Chinese and was able to translate. Although the Japanese did not get the cooperation they had hoped for, a few missionaries began studying the language. Military officers became suspicious, however, and most missionaries discontinued their attempts to learn Japanese. See Charles Leonard, Repaid a Hundredfold, (Manuscript in archives of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, Richmond, Virginia, August 1967).

[78] Ibid., 9.

Chapter 3

Southern Baptists in Free China

During the early 1930s the Japanese military occupied Manchuria and North China and established puppet governments in the country's northern provinces using cooperative Chinese as powerless figureheads to establish their rule. While the situation remained fairly static until 1937 when the Sino-Japanese War escalated, the Kuomintang government was confronted with continuous difficulties among the populace living in "Free China", that is, the area of China which was not occupied and ruled by Japanese military forces.

Chiang Kai-shek's government was ineffective in relieving the harsh living conditions of millions of peasants who suffered from growing poverty and continuous crisis during the period between 1931 to 1945. The Chinese peoples' suffering, due to several factors, led to a vast westward migration. The flooding of the Yangtze River in 1931 had displaced nearly fourteen million villagers who then became refugees searching for new homes and work. The world-wide depression in the 1930s had resulted in a decrease in the demand for China's cash crops and handicrafts. The Japanese attack on Shanghai in January 1932, caused a mass migration of numbers of Chinese to western areas of China. China's leaders had attempted to initiate economic and administrative reforms that would strengthen China in the long term.[1]

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[1] Spence, The Search for Modern China, 437.

Nationalist military campaigns and widespread institutional and industrial rebuilding and expansion had forced the government to increase taxes leading to greater shortages, hardship and suffering.[2] These circumstances had greatly unsettled the country's population.

With the eruption of full scale war in the summer of 1937 the Japanese began the rapid military occupation of developed and industrial east China. The Japanese attempted to govern this area of China as it had North China and Manchuria by establishing puppet regimes headed by pro-Japanese or weak Chinese figureheads.

Following a full scale Japanese advance to the east and south, by the end of 1938 the formerly huge Ching empire was divided into ten separate fragments, many occupied and administered by the Japanese military. The ten regions were:

1. Manchukuo-Japanese occupied
2. Inner Mongolian Federation-Japanese occupied
3. Northeast China south of the Great Wall-Japanese occupied
4. East-Central China and Taiwan-Japanese controlled
5. Chungking region-Nationalist controlled
6. Shansi region-Communist controlled
7. Shansi Province-warlord controlled
8. Canton region-Japanese occupied
9. Sinkiang Russian sponsored autonomous region

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[2] Ibid., 434.

10. Provisional Government of the Republic of China (Peking region) - Japanese occupied.[3]

Japan's goal had been to acquire a substantial region to supply resources and allow for industrial development in the country. In addition, the Japanese wanted to control the main transportation rails and roads of the country to further their control of China's resources. The invasion provided Japan with an opportunity to spread its culture and further the concept of the "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere."[4] The Japanese did not intend to occupy all of China, but to gain administrative and political control of large portions of the country. Its goal was to establish a network of puppet governments to enable Japan to maintain an economic advantage over competing governments in China. The Japanese had encountered less resistance from the populace when they had established a puppet regime in Manchuria, using Emperor Kang-te, more commonly known as Henry Puyi, as a Japanese dominated puppet ruler. The Japanese were not able to control their Chinese collaborators to the south as easily as they were the former Emperor Puyi,[5] and this in part, led from the Japanese *threat* of military force to the actual use of severe and desperate military tactics such as the infamous "Three All Policy" used by the military. The philosophy of "take all, kill all, burn all" surely frightened many Chinese to flee and relocate when invasion became imminent.

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[3] Ibid., 450.

[4] Ibid., 390.

[5] John Hunter Boyle, China and Japan at War: The Politics of Collaboration, (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1972), 11.

After October 1938 the Japanese government determined that to tighten control of the regions of China already occupied and to ease their task of controlling the populace they would initiate a complete economic blockade. They might then accomplish their goals. First they would starve the Chinese out of some areas and break their will to resist the Japanese takeover. Thus weakened and desperate, the new rulers believed the Chinese might be more willing to accept the terms of Japanese military rule. Second, the Japanese believed that a successful military blockade would decrease the requirement for greater numbers of Japanese troops to successfully occupy a new region.[6] Thus, faced with a new blockade strategy and the devastating "Three All Policy" of the Japanese, many Chinese believed immediate escape was the sole means of survival.

Numerous Chinese, not only those living in regions invaded and occupied by the Japanese, faced political and economic choices. China had entered a period during which there was increased feelings of nationalism on the part of the Chinese populace, particularly those individuals who were educated or who worked urban areas. Chinese, who for economic or political reasons did not want to live under a Japanese puppet government, either were loyal to the Kuomintang government, headquartered in the Chungking, Sichwan Province, or were attracted to the Chinese Communists, who had relocated their headquarters following the 1934-1935 Long March from Jiangxi Province to Yanan in the Shanxi Province hills. The communists had gained support of greater numbers of Chinese peasants. While most of the

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[6] Lincoln Li, The Japanese Army in North China, 1937-1941: Problems of Political and Economic Control, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 217.

Chinese living in the northern and eastern regions of the country were unable or chose not to flee to Free China hundreds of thousands relocated westward. Theodore White and Annalee Jacoby, writers and witnesses to this massive migration best describe its occurrence:

> The migrations of factories and universities were the most spectacular. How many more millions of peasants and city folk were set adrift by the Japanese invasion no one can guess, estimates run all the way from three to twenty-five million. The peasants fled from the Japanese; they fled from the great flood of the Yellow River, whose dikes had been opened to halt the Japanese armies; they fled out of fear of the unknown. The workers came . . . because, without them, the machines would be useless. The restaurant keepers, singsong girls, adventurers, the little merchants who packed their cartons of cigarettes or folded their bolts of cloth to come on the march, probably numbered hundreds of thousands. The little people who accompanied the great organized movements traveled by foot, sampan, junk, railway, and ricksha . . . like files of ants winding endlessly westward.[7]

The destination of the displaced Chinese was always western China or "Free China."

Free China in 1938 consisted of Sichwuan as the central base along with the Yunan area, with buffer territories Guangsi, except for the area between Nanning and the coast, and Guangdong Province with the exception of Canton and the Pearl River region, most of Hunan and South Jiangxi and large areas of west Hubei and Henan and South Shannxi, most the Zhejiang and Fujian Provinces. [8] Chungking, the Nationalist capital during most of the war, was a city of small hills and natural caves. All branches of the Chinese national government and representatives of all relief organizations were located here. [9] Whole universities, to

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[7] Franz Schurmann and Orville Schell, eds. Republican China: Nationalism, War, and the Rise of Communism 1911-1946, (Clinton, Mass: The Colonial Press, Inc., 1967), 261.

[8] Spence, The Search for Modern China, 458-459.

[9] Leonard, Repaid a Hundredfold, 232.

include students and faculty who had relocated from cities such as Shanghai, Peking, and Tianjin, moved books and supplies to resettle in the Kunming area. The Burma Road, a road built by thousands of Chinese to enable supply delivery to China through Burma, ended in Kunming. The city became a wartime center and consolidation point for refugee intellectuals and students fleeing the Japanese occupied northern and eastern China.[10]

When the Sino-Japanese War escalated in the summer of 1937 many of the centers of Southern Baptist mission activities became areas of chaos and destruction. Some missionaries found themselves fleeing with their Chinese converts to avoid bombing and the occupation forces. Once the occupation occurred mission life was mildly restricted but there was freedom to continue limited work once a Japanese permit was applied for and granted.[11] Nevertheless there was increasing danger to the missionaries and many moved westward to the regions not yet controlled by the Japanese forces. These regions offered the missionary worker considerable potential for increased evangelization and potential converts. In addition, there was the opportunity to establish new missions after the war, and this offered the Southern Baptists promise for continued growth in China. Meanwhile, particularly following the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the Foreign Mission Board was forced by circumstances to focus on the China that they could communicate with and fund.

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[10] Spence, The Search for Modern China, 455.

[11] J. T. Williams, I Was There, 22.

The Southern Mission Board called on its constituents to look to Free China and support missions there even while missionaries were captured and interned by the Japanese in Occupied China. In May 1942, just months after the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the internment of Americans by the Japanese in China, Charles E. Maddry, executive secretary of the Foreign Mission Board, wrote in The Commission:

> The eyes of the world are on Free China. This area comprises about two-thirds of China proper and is larger than the United States west of the Mississippi River. This vast, undeveloped section of China is marvelously rich in natural resources and in raw materials. There were already one hundred and fifty million people in this area and now fifty million refugees from coastal provinces have trekked into this portion of Free China . . . . Fourteen Provinces of Free China are still accessible. . . .Money is safely cable to Chungking through the Bank of China . . . . Hundred of missionaries are still available for relief work. . . . In Free China there is hope in spite of danger and reconstruction in the midst of war.[12]

During its November 12, 1942 executive committee meeting the Foreign Mission Board decide to send Charles Leonard, the respected thirty-year veteran missionary from Manchuria to assist in "relief work and with the rapidly developing mission work in that area." Board members stressed the desire to send as much money as possible to Free China, as "letters arrive constantly . . . indicating the urgent need for as widespread relief work as can be undertaken within our resources of finances and personnel."[13] It had not been easy for the Board to obtain permission in 1942 from the United States State Department to send even

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[12] Charles E. Maddry, "Free China," The Commission, May 1942, 187.

[13] Minutes of the Foreign Mission Board executive committee bimonthly meeting, November 12, 1942,(microfilm of manuscript in archives of Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, Richmond Virginia).

one missionary to war-torn and dangerous China. Once his departure to the Orient was government sanctioned Leonard was required to travel by Norwegian freighter from New York to India and flew the difficult trip across the Himalayan Mountains.

When he arrived in China and began his mission Leonard used various means of transportation, including military planes and postal trucks sometimes loaded with stacks of inflated Nationalist Chinese currency, to investigate the relief needs of Free China. In Wuchow he was told by veteran missionary Robert Beddoe that famine relief was most needed in the northeast regions of Free China. [14] Leonard first helped establish relief work in Chengchow, with the assistance of single female Baptist missionaries Grace Stribling and Katie Murray. Leonard had two goals as he roamed Free China. Leonard's main purpose was to offer physical relief to Chinese suffering starvation and the effects of displacement. He founded "soup kitchens" where food was served mornings and afternoons to the starving populace. Both Christian and non-Christian children were given food and shelter. Meanwhile, to achieve his second purpose- to convert souls to the Baptist religion- Leonard preached the Gospel. After the second and final feeding of the day the hungry returned to their homes- sometimes miles away from the feeding station- only to repeat the procedure the following day. Leonard claimed hundreds were able to keep from starving to death because of the food served at his soup kitchens.[15]

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[14] Leonard, Repaid a Hundredfold, 327-330.

[15] Ibid., 330.

Leonard traveled from region to region in Free China repeating his methods and his message. After spending a few months in China Leonard traveled to Chungking to consult with Nationalist government officials to determine more clearly the plans the government had for offering relief for the multitudes who were fleeing westward and needed resettlement aid.[16] More refugees had been encouraged to migrate to western China and Leonard felt the need for the Chinese government's guidance. Madame Chiang Kai-shek had invited one million orphans and six hundred Chinese women to trek to West China to resettle or be adopted into homes.[17] Leonard arranged with postal authorities to ride to Chungking on trucks which delivered mail in Free China. When he arrived in the wartime capital he was invited by government officials to speak, along with General Chiang Kai-shek, from a pavilion in the center of a park in the wartime capital. It was the only place, he recalled, where he heard men cheer preaching. [18] Leonard does not detail what advice or guidance the Nationalist government had to offer him concerning offering relief funds and food, clothing and shelter to the Chinese population in Free China. In his unpublished manuscript he does describe his continued travel to accomplish his assigned task of delivering and administering aid to Chinese refugees. He recalled that his "best results were by direct contact, through small Christian agencies."[19]

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[16] Ibid., 333.

[17] The Commission, March 1942, 158.

[18] Leonard, Repaid a Hundredfold, 333.

[19] Ibid., 333,

Leonard travelled alone for two years by any means possible throughout Free China and attempted to deliver relief funds entrusted to him and in the name of the Southern Baptists who wanted to offer aid to the beleaguered Chinese whose country was split by war. During these years he personally experienced bombing, drought, locust, and floods. Once while he was traveling by postal vehicle, his driver recklessly ran over and killed a woman. He witnessed and assisted Chinese, starved from the effects of locusts, dig ditches and drive millions of locusts into them at night when the pests wings were too damp to permit them to fly. He saw Chinese women, who were government hired caretakers for abandoned children, use the government grant to feed themselves and pile weakened children together to await death. The farther east he traveled the worse the situation became. At the end of two years Leonard was so weakened by the conditions in the country and the loss of thirty-five pounds that he and his baggage had to be carried by litter from village to village.[20] Leonard accomplished his first goal as he single handedly, with determination and courage delivered money, food and aid to the displaced and starving Chinese in Free China.

At the suggestion of Charles Maddry and Robert Beddoe Leonard returned to the western region of Free China where he then decided to return to the United States through India. [21]

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[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid., 333-339.

The Japanese, during the early part of the war did not aggressively advance to the interior regions of China where the migrations were occurring. When the Japanese army appeared to stabilize and concentrate on the more advanced and industrialized northeast, missionaries in Free China settled into new missions with thoughts of expansion during this deceptive lull. Missionaries in the field, and the Foreign Mission Board, encouraged by the new challenge, turned their sights to establishing large, well staffed missions in West China. The recognized leader of this Forward Movement in West China was Baker J. Cauthen.[22]

By the end of 1943 the Foreign Mission Board was issuing very favorable reports about the potential benefits of expanding the Free China territory. Schools under the auspices of the Southern Baptist sponsored Leung Kweng Baptist Convention had reopened and were thriving in Kweilin, Cauthen's home and the center for Southern Baptist activities in Free China. Early in the war the Foreign Mission Boards of the Northern and Southern Baptist Conventions, joint sponsors and administrators of the school, called for the University of Shanghai to reopen in another location. Board members published its plea:

> The numbers fleeing from occupied China will increase rapidly if it is widely known that the work of the University will be carried on in an atmosphere of liberty and freedom from the senseless and brutal interference of the Japanese military authorities who have been most unreasonable in their attitude . . . .The unhindered life and freedom of the University of Shanghai is of such vast importance to China's future that the institution must be preserved of all hazards.[23]

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[22] Annual Report, 1944, 217-218.

[23] "Shall We Move the University of Shanghai?" The Commission, June 1942, 229.

After several members of the faculty and large numbers of students had escaped through Japanese blockades to Free China, the administration formed an emergency Board of Director's to relocate the university in Kweilin. Near the end of 1943 one university course was being taught in Chungking, the Nationalist capital. There were plans to open other university departments in other free provinces.[24]

Further, at the end of 1942 the Board could envision a need for a new seminary in Free China. The members believed "the time has come when we should look toward the projection in Kweilin of one united seminary and training school for south and southwestern China." The Board sought a joint venture with their mission personnel and the Chinese Baptists in founding the new seminary.[25]

Early on, the Foreign Mission Board recognized a more favorable attitude on the part of Nationalist leaders toward all missionaries and their activities. The Board optimistically reported that the "prevailing attitude was one of interested inquiry." They noticed an accommodating attitude on the part of government officials- some of whom were converted Christians. Board members recalled that, shortly after the war began, Nationalist government officials in major cities had requested evangelistic services be conducted and all government employees were requested by the government to attend.[26] Christian services were, on

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[24] Minutes of the Foreign Mission Board executive committee, October 13, 1943, 146.

[25] Minutes of the Foreign Mission Board executive committee meeting, November 12, 1942.

[26] Annual Report, 1942, 187.

occasion, conducted in government run universities. Southern Baptists saw these occasions as evangelistic opportunities and invitations to expand their activities in a Nationalist Free China.

In late 1943 there were sixteen Southern Baptist missionaries, associated with about 200 Chinese Christians, living and working in areas which were not occupied by the Japanese. These missionaries were stationed in and worked in Kweilin, the center of Southern Baptist work in Free China, and in Wuchow and Shiuchow in southwest China. They also worked in Chengchow, a city located in the central portion of the country about six hundred miles north of mission stations in the southwest and about twenty miles from Japanese lines as they were in October 1943.[27] Previous to October 1943, the Japanese had occupied Chengchow (October 1941) and had forced the missionaries to be confined to their homes. The occupation was brief. Unfortunately, the Japanese soldiers who had invaded the city took all grain, oil, cotton, and many other supplies. As a result the Chinese could not plant a grain crop that year.[28] This situation and a severe drought brought the famine which caused much suffering and death among the people.

Addie Cox was the only Southern Baptist missionary living and working in Weishih among refugees who had been displaced by the flooding of the Yellow River. Katie Murray and Grace Stribling were in the Chengchow field among Honan famine victims, where Murray

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[27] J. T. Williams, I Was There, 26.

[28] Grace Stribling to J.T. Williams, Letters and Statements.

reported, "Churches are trying to be more cautious about receiving members during these days of famine."[29] Ruth Pettigrew was in South China with Margie Shumate, who lived and worked in the Toishan area of Kwangtung Province. Robert Beddoe and his wife had relocated to Kweilin because the location was more central to mission activity and he was more able to keep in touch with other missionaries and communicate with the Foreign Mission Board in Richmond. Hattie Stallings, Robert Bausum, his wife and three children, and Baker Cauthen and his wife and two children also lived in Kweilin. They represented the Southern Baptists who advocated the evangelical Forward Movement. Rex Ray was in Wuchow along with William Wallace, who was a surgeon who had replaced Robert Beddoe as Superintendent of Stout Memorial Hospital. [30]

When medicine and supplies for Stout Memorial Hospital were in critically short supply missionary Rex Ray of Wuchow decided it was his responsibility to risk running the Japanese blockade to obtain the necessities from the yet unoccupied island of Hong Kong. He traveled by Chinese "saam-paan" and "tow-boat" during the night through canals and creeks. He was bombed by the Japanese while traveling overland by bus to Macao. In Macao he boarded a ship to Hong Kong.[31] He returned with the same risk to his life but was able to keep the mission hospital in Wuchow, Free China, stocked with some of the necessary

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[29] Annual Report, 1944, 214.

[30] J.T. Williams, I Was There, 93.

[31] Rex Ray, A Cowboy - Missionary's Trail, (manuscript in archives of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, Richmond, Virginia, no date), 150-154.

medicine and supplies to carry on extensive treatment of wounded and ill Chinese. After the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the occupation of Hong Kong, Ray could no longer carry out his dangerous but necessary trips to the island.

In 1944 the Kweilin mission station, located about five hundred miles inland from Hong Kong, increased in importance and became the Southern Baptists' largest station and most important mission in Free China. The missionaries by this time had established a hospital, a large church, boys' and girls' schools, and had maintained several missionaries residences.[32] Margie Shumate was working in the Sze Yap region in Sunhing, South China. In Shiuchow, Kiangsi Province, Annie Sandlin and native teams participated in relief work in addition to teaching. She was the only Southern Baptist missionary in the area. The Southern Baptists considered Macao as part of Free China, although the island was intermittently controlled by the Japanese during the war. J. L. Galloway and his wife were responsible for Southern Baptist work here. Also two single missionaries, Lora Clement and Lenora Scarlett, worked with blind Chinese women before and throughout the war years in Macao.[33] After Pearl Harbor, when the Japanese occupied the territory around the small Portuguese colony, communication with the outside became sporadic and difficult. The women were able to reach the Richmond headquarters by telegraph through Portugal and funds to aid in their survival during the war years were transferred to them through a Portuguese bank.[34]

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[32] J. T. Williams, I Was There, 78.

[33] Annual Report, 1944, 214-222.

[34] J. T. Williams, I Was There, 92.

Prior to the start of World War II in the Pacific, missionaries in Free China were able to obtain funds and supplies easily, despite the Japanese occupying forces. Bank accounts were maintained in Hong Kong or Shanghai and movement across the lines of Japanese occupation was fluid. Chinese merchants often helped the missionaries by obtaining permits from Japanese officials to travel to Hong Kong or Shanghai to draw on bank accounts and purchase supplies. If air, land, or rail transportation was not blocked by fighting, crossing the lines was usually uncomplicated.[35]

Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor the Foreign Mission Board realized there was a need to funnel funds to China to support both the missionaries and their work, and to pay Chinese Christians for their labors in service to the missionaries. After Pearl Harbor, in Japanese occupied Shanghai, the incarcerated missionaries were cut off from their predictable source of revenue as salary and for purchase of supplies. The mission treasurer in Shanghai, J.T. Williams could not direct or lease funds for their use due to the strict restrictions of the Japanese on foreigners. The Foreign Mission Board representatives, having followed events in China, anticipated greater restrictions in the Shanghai mission area and had arranged for Dr. Robert Beddoe to be granted power-of-attorney. In emergencies he was authorized to sign drafts and operate mission accounts. Banking had been done through Hong

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[35] Ibid., 86.

Kong. When the Japanese occupied the island there was fleeting panic as the Southern Baptists sought another means to supply the missions.[36]

Following the bombing of Pearl Harbor the western regions of China communicated with the outside world through India and Burma. Beddoe had access to telegraph service. As soon as telegraphic communications could be established, Beddoe communicated to the Foreign Mission Board in Richmond a plea for funds. During the first six months of 1942 more than $50,000 was cabled to him for missionary and Chinese Christian workers salaries, and war relief. Beddoe was able to contact missionaries in Free China and also communicate by letter, on occasion, to missionaries behind Japanese lines in Hong Kong, Canton, Shuichow, Pochow, Chengchow, and Kaifeng.[37] Thus, from his Free China post, he was of service to his co-workers almost immediately, due to both the foresight of the Board *and* the missionaries in the China field.

The Foreign Mission Board, in its funding of Leonard's relief activities and in its transmission of emergency funds to Robert Beddoe, treasurer of all missions in China, was as generous as it felt it could afford to be. During the December 1942 meeting the Foreign Mission Board voted to send $5,000 for Honan Province famine relief efforts and another $5,000 for Margie Shumate's relief work in Kwangtung Province, both China provinces which were as yet unhindered by Japanese forces. In addition, $10,000 was wired to Dr. Robert

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[36] Ibid., 91.

[37] Charles E. Maddry, "God Has a Man for Every Crisis," The Commission, June 1942, 240.

Beddoe for use in the Chengchow-Kaifeng region. While food and medical supplies were badly needed, the Board specified that $5,000 of this grant was for Bible purchase, as requested by Beddoe and in keeping with his philosophy of "evangelism first."[38]

Beddoe, who was appointed to his position in April 1942, by the Board, was granted authority to operate in the Board's name for the duration of the hostilities in China. Beddoe suggested and received approval of a 50% increase in salary for Chinese Christian employees of the missions. He also requested that appropriations for emergency relief for Chinese workers who were in occupied China be transferred to Free China. He arranged to pay traveling expenses for Christian workers enroute to Kweilin to help strengthen the new mission.[39] Beddoe submitted a series of requests for grants from the Foreign Mission Board which appear inconsistent with his own philosophy of "evangelism first" and the withdrawal of Southern Baptist missionaries from the business of teaching and doctoring in China. It appears from his communications to the Board that he wanted to employee more and more Chinese in the Kweilin mission and enlarge and expand that particular region in the name of Southern Baptists. This policy seemed to be the trend in Southern Baptist missions in West China. When new facilities were staffed, Chinese Baptists were employed and supervised by a scant staff of missionaries.

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[38] Minutes of the Foreign Mission Board executive committee meeting, December 12, 1942, 42.

[39] Minutes of the Foreign Mission Board executive committee meeting, April 22, 1942, 295.

Among Beddoe's requests to the Board in April 1942, were $4,500 from Board relief funds to supplement salaries for Kweilin native workers, $2,000 to construct a clinic building, and $500 for the reopening of a school building in Kweilin. He did request monies for evangelism, particularly for the Forward Movement ($300), $500 for "Evangelistic Teams", and $500 for a Men's and Women's Bible School in Kweilin.[40]

Absent from Beddoe's requests for funds was the request for increased relief and famine funds. This may be the source of his conflict with Margie Shumate (as discussed in Chapter 2) in Chengchow who throughout the war contacted him and the Board for increased grants for use in her work in Honan Province. She administered aide to children and their families who were displaced and suffering the effects of war and famine. In January 1942, the Board received a cable from Chengchow from Shumate expressing her desperate situation, and the Board, through its newly created War Emergency Council, communicated to Beddoe through telegram:" Cable From Chengchow indicated desperate situation send funds Murray immediately cable us results." [41] Communication in this tone from Shumate continued throughout the war years.

Grace Stribling, of Chengchow, Free China, described her difficulties obtaining funds for the payment of Chinese workers after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor:

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[40] Ibid., 296.

[41] Minutes of the Foreign Mission Board executive committee meeting, February 12, 1942, 275.

> "After Pearl Harbor we had no bank and no place near from which to get money to pay the workers so it was necessary for me to go to Loyang (Honanfu) a bit more than ninety miles to get money. A trip in winter on a two-wheeled cart in rain, snow, ice and mud is not picnic . . . . On the return trip the $60,000 in my bedding roll presented a hazard from robbers . . . but I eventually arrived safely".[42]

Once Stribling obtained funds she then had to distribute them among the Chinese employees of the mission- a task she claimed required "ingenuity, considerable work and bravery" on the part of the carrier of the money, food, and supplies. She detailed conditions:

> The roads had been cut at intervals with deep trenches to impede the advancing Japanese so transportation of grain was a formidable undertaking, especially since the famine condition made murder to get grain a not unusual occurrence."[43]

When the Southern Baptist missions seemed stable in Free China and the Foreign Mission Board was able to communicate with the missionaries and deliver their salaries and relief funds to them, the Board gave in to the temptation to strengthen its position in Free China by sending more missionaries. They announced in September 1943 to their readers: "In view of the unprecedented opportunities and the urgent need of maintaining intact our work in China, the Foreign Mission Board , in a recent meeting, instructed Dr. Maddry and Dr. Rankin to arrange for the return to Free China of twelve experienced missionaries, six men and six women."[44] They did not mention the difficulties faced by the new missionaries in their travel to and from wartorn and occupied China.

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[42] Stribling to J. T. Williams, Statements and Letters.

[43] Ibid.

[44] "Missionaries Go to Free China" The Commission, September 1943, 10.

Travel to and from Free China through India while avoiding Japanese military attack, was a difficult endeavor. When he became too ill to remain any longer in China, Rex Ray, the missionary who had successfully run the Japanese blockade from west China to Hong Kong, flew toward India aboard a freighter along with United States fighter pilots. In Assam he landed in a tea plantation. The small buildings on the plantation were used as a headquarters by the United States Army Air Force.[45] Charles Leonard both arrived for his two year assignment as head of Baptist relief distribution, and departed traveling by plane at low altitudes across the Himalayas. On his way to China he had traveled on a Norwegian freighter, in a convoy of fifty ships loaded with high explosives, which had "only dim lights and moved cautiously in the darkness."[46] His ship had sailed close to the war in North Africa, and separated as the convey headed toward the Panama Canal enroute to the Far East. Leonard's craft traveled along the west coast of South America, three hundred miles south of Cape Horn to avoid submarine warfare. Leonard disembarked in Karachi, Pakistan. The trip took two months by sea. He traveled through northern India by train for three days and then boarded a plane and flew twelve hours over "the Hump" at 10,000 feet to Kunming, China's western most free city. At the time an American air base was located in Kunming.[47] The Burma Road and the air routes over the Himalayan Mountains had enabled Loenard and

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[45] Rex Ray, A Cowboy - Missionary's Trail, 179-181.

[46] Leonard, Repaid a Hundredfold, 320-323.

[47] Ibid. 324-328.

his fellow missionaries to obtain necessary supplies and travel arrangements to and from China during most of the war period.

Toward the end of World War II Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government began to lose the support of larger and larger portions of the population and there was widespread discontent among many of its own officers and supporting warlords.[48] The United States military was training portions of the Chinese army in Yunnan Province in West China and in areas of Burma. General Claire Lee Chennault's Flying Tiger operations in the country concerned the Japanese military. The United States had moved considerable numbers of personnel, military hardware, and vehicles through West China. As a result the Japanese renewed their plunge toward the more western areas of the country. During this period the Southern Baptist missionaries began to flee the encroaching invaders. Meanwhile, however, missionaries were still able to travel by the Indian escape route so, despite the dangers of war, the Foreign Mission Board continued to replace missionaries who were ill or due for furlough.

The Board sent two missionaries at a time to the wartorn country to replace or add to others.[49] Some missionaries were simply worn out and tired from years of working in unstable and difficult conditions in China. Mrs. J.R.Saunders, wife of Dr.Saunders, died in India on her way home. Eloise Cauthen became seriously ill. She traveled with her family to

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[48] Schurmann and Schell, eds. Republican China, 248.

[49] J. T. Williams, I Was There, 94.

India to recuperate.[50] Margie Shumate left Sunhing, Annie Sandlin fled Shiuchow, and Ruth Pettigrew traveled from southern Hunan as the Japanese military advanced toward the region. All returned to the United States before the end of the war.[51] When the Japanese threatened to occupy Kweilin, the Beddoes relocated to Kunming, where Robert Beddoe could still communicate with and fund the missionaries in Free China. B. L Nichols and Rex Ray met Beddoe in Kunming shortly after Beddoe arrived there in 1944. Kunming was the safest area left in China.

Bill Wallace, a surgeon and lone missionary in Wuchow, did not choose safety. He wanted to continue his medical work but found that, to escape Japanese occupation, he was forced to relocate his hospital. On September 16, 1944, with the help of Chinese workers, he loaded flat cargo boats with patients, medical supplies, and workers to travel more than three hundred miles up the West River to Nanning. He continued to the more remote area of Poseh. There he established and operated a simple medical clinic where there was "never a lack of patients who were in need of medical attention." Drugs were shipped to him from Kunming and the Baptists supported Wallace's operation from that safer location. Wallace was the only Southern Baptist missionary who did not abandon his work when the Japanese military advanced toward the missions in Free China. In appreciation, the Chinese moved his entire hospital back to Wuchow when the Japanese army no longer threatened the town.[52]

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[50] Ibid., 96.

[51] Leonard, Repaid A Hundredfold, 96.

[52] J. T. Williams, I Was There, 96-100.

The situation for the remaining missionaries in Free China during the last year of the Sino-Japanese War was chronicled by J. T. Williams. Some of the missionaries who decided to return to the United States escaped by way of Sian to Chungking and then to Kunming for departure by way of the Indian air route. They traveled by hand cart, coal cart, bicycle, and when possible and safe, rail. Many who traveled were single women traveling alone. During this period of relocation the Foreign Mission Board did not even know where their missionaries were living.[53] B. L. Nichols was the last missionary to depart the Southern Baptist center in Kweilin before it was captured by the Japanese. There were eight displaced Southern Baptist missionaries who met in Kweiyang. They were Nickols, Jessie Green, Auris Pender, Ruth Pettigrew, Lorene Tilford, Wilma Weeks, Lucy Wright, and M. W. Rankin. All except Pettigrew had just returned from furlough and, if possible, wanted to remain to work in what was left of Free China.[54] The Foreign Mission Board had considered establishing a new mission in southwestern China, so this group of eight decided to take over an abandoned mission in the China Inland Mission in Tsunyi, a city of about 200,000 near Kweiyang in southwest China. The Southern Baptist missionaries labeled their new mission the "Tsunyi Emergency Mission" and proceeded to renovate and supply it. The eight determined missionaries taught English in Tsunyi schools, preached the gospel in Chinese, led revivals, and established a clinic where Lucy Wright, a registered nurse, directed the medical services.[55]

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[53] Ibid., 100.

[54] Ibid., 102.

[55] Ibid., 103-104.

At the end of 1944, when the Japanese neared the Tsunyi area, Pettigrew, M.W. Rankin, Green, Pender, and Weeks decided to return to the United States. Nichols volunteered with the Chinese army as a military liaison when he could not continue mission work. Tilford joined a branch of the University of Shanghai in Chungking. The Tsunyi Emergency Mission and the Southern Baptist to establish a new mission in Free China was abandoned.[56]

[56] Ibid., 108.

CHAPTER 4

Occupied China and the Internment of Missionaries

The territory of China controlled by the Japanese military during the Sino-Japanese War is referred to as "Occupied China." The Japanese army dominated area included most of the missions where the Southern Baptist missionaries lived and worked. These areas were the South China Mission, with Canton as the center of activities; Central China Mission, with its center at Shanghai; North China Mission, mainly the Shantung Peninsula; Interior Mission of Honan Province; and Manchuria, which was opened by the North China missionaries and was the smallest of the Southern Baptist missions.[1]

As previously noted, when the Japanese moved West and South in China during the pre-World War II years, Southern Baptist missionaries faced little interference in their activities by the Japanese military as the invaders gained more and more territory, and tightened their economic control of China. While large numbers of the Chinese civilian population fled the Japanese as they brutally overtook their homeland, the missionaries tried to continue, to the extent they could, their daily activities of teaching, evangelizing and medical work.

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[1] "Southern Baptist Fields" The Commission, December 1943, 19.

When the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor and the United States and Japan went to war, the relationship the missionaries in China had with the Japanese military occupiers of China changed considerably. The missionaries, along with all other foreigners living in China who were citizens of Allied countries, became prisoners of war and captives of the Japanese. The foreigners included diplomats, statesmen, businessmen, in addition to missionaries of varied religious denominations. Often the captives were housed together in concentration or detainment camps which were formerly school or university buildings. The facilities were transformed into prison compounds used to isolate and detain the foreigners. Many of the captives were those who had failed to heed State Department warnings to leave China when it seemed likely that United States and Japanese diplomatic efforts would falter and war would break out.

The experiences of the Southern Baptist missionaries under Japanese domination in China represent a microcosm of the large number of foreign civilians who either refused to leave China despite warnings, or who were prevented by special circumstances from getting out before full scale war commenced. Review of memoirs, letters, and records of Southern Baptist missionaries who were detained or incarcerated in China or Hong Kong by the Japanese military, following the bombing of Pearl Harbor and during the remainder of the war, indicate that the captors did not mistreat or purposefully cause the suffering of the foreigners. In general, their discomfort arose from the crowded environment, the lack of adequate medical care, food, and supplies, and their inability to either continue their work or

return to their families.[2] Only Rufus Gray, a Southern Baptist missionary who was attending language school in the Philippines when the Japanese took the islands, lost his life while imprisoned there. To this day the details of his death are unclear, and no one is certain that the Japanese military was responsible.[3]

Once the missionaries were detained and held captive the Japanese government and the United States commenced negotiations to arrange for their repatriation. During this lengthy diplomatic process the captives awaited word and a means of transportation for their freedom. They suffered from malnutrition, boredom, and other effects of incarceration. They were not, however, mistreated, brutalized, or purposefully caused to suffer by the Japanese military as was the case in the Chinese population.

Hong Kong

Perhaps the most well-known situation in which Southern Baptist missionaries were held prisoner was the Japanese controlled Stanley Prison in Hong Kong. Although only six Southern Baptist missionaries were held captive by the Japanese on the island, the Foreign

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[2] An exception to this statement is the treatment of Jewish refugees by the Japanese military which was considerably more harsh than that afforded captive Americans and Europeans living and working in Shanghai. Jonathan D. Spence, The Search For Modern China, 475. For further reading on the topic see David Krangzler's Japanese, Nazis and Jews: The Jewish Refugee Community in Shanghai, 1938-1945 (New York: Yeshiva University Press, 1976).

[3] Annual Report, 1944, 211.

Mission Board's Secretary to the Orient, Dr. M. Theron Rankin, was one of those prisoners. During the time of the prisoners' captivity, representatives of the Southern Baptist Convention became very concerned about the living conditions and the possible mistreatment of the missionaries. Almost no information about prison conditions was available for months following the capture of the island of Hong Kong. All six Southern Baptist missionaries survived the captivity and were released and exchanged for Japanese prisoners during the first repatriation held aboard the Swedish ship the Gripsholm. The United States State Department, upon the arrival of the former Stanley Prison captives, advised them to give no details of their experiences in captivity to the press, and to issue no statements about their treatment as captives. The Foreign Mission Board feared that press reports about the Japanese prison conditions might jeopardize the chances for the repatriation of the remaining captive missionaries. Only after World War II ended did details of the conditions at Hong Kong's Stanley Prison become public, along with information about the Japanese conduct toward the detained foreign civilians.

The six Southern Baptist missionaries who were on the island of Hong Kong when it was overrun by the Japanese on December 8, 1941 were: Doctor M. Theron Rankin, who at the time of capture had been on a tour of the South China Mission; Oz Quick, a medical patient on temporary leave from Kweilin; Auris Pender, who was returning from a furlough

in the United States; Mr. and Mrs. Cecil Ward, recent arrivals who were attending language school; and Flora Dodson, the principal of recently relocated Pooi In Bible Training School.[4]

While there are historical descriptions of the Japanese takeover of Hong Kong,[5] missionaries Flora Dodson and Oz Quick describe it from a captive's viewpoint. Dodson, a veteran missionary, was fearful of the Japanese as the military arrived on December 12 from the mainland while the missionaries and others tried to escape to the opposite side of the island. The missionaries had purposefully isolated themselves from the Chinese they taught and worked with because, as Dodson stated, "Our presence with them, we knew, would endanger their lives even more, for the Japanese slogan was, 'Asia for the Asiatics' and they were proclaiming themselves as the friends of the Chinese, and the British and Americans as their common enemies."[6]

Oz Quick was a missionary and patient at Matilda Hospital in Hong Kong when the Japanese took the island. He kept a detailed journal of the events leading up to the Japanese takeover of the entire island and finally the incarceration of the missionaries in Stanley Prison. During the takeover he stayed at Matilda so had considerably more freedom than the other Baptist missionaries who were caught on Hong Kong. Quick said he was fearful but not

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[4] Flora Dodson to J. T Williams, Letters and Statements.

[5] According to G. B. Endacott, Author of Hong Kong Eclipse, the most authoritative account is by J. Stericher, A Tear for the Dragon, (manuscript in archives of Hong Kong Library, London, 1958), his detailed history of Stanley Prison.

[6] Flora Dodson to J.T. Williams, Letters and Statements.

surprised when the Japanese arrived. During his convalescence following an appendectomy, he had, at night, listened to BBC broadcasts with other personnel in the island hospital. Shortly before December 8, 1941 he recorded in his journal that the situation seemed "grave, but not hopeless." He became apprehensive as island personnel began calling up volunteers and ordering them to report for "practice maneuvers."[7]

On December 8, 1941 Quick's fears became reality as news arrived at Matilda that the Japanese had declared war on Hong Kong. Quick reflected that at least the Chinese in Kweilin would be gratified as the Christians there had been hopeful that the United States would enter World War II and would, along with the Nationalists, help defeat and expel the Japanese from Chinese territory. Quick aided Matilda Hospital personnel in discharging most of the patients and helped ready the hospital for government relief purposes.[8] Oddly, Quick remained optimistic that the Hong Kong troops might defeat the Japanese forces as they spread over the island.

Japan carried out air raids and Matilda was bombed and severely damaged. Quick described the bombing as producing a "ghastly feeling until one got used to it." The hospital had many windows and verandas. In certain areas the veranda's were covered with plate glass windows. The only hospital pillars supported the roof. The structure seemed too fragile and

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[7] Oz Quick, Journal of Quick's experiences during the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong, photocopy of journal sent to author (manuscript in archives of Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, Richmond, Virginia), 17.

[8] Ibid., 19.

dangerous to Quick as he endured continuous bombings by the Japanese.[9] He longed for "less sunshine and fresh air and more walls- big, thick walls."[10] Christian services continued to be conducted in the hospital, but the unpredictability of the bombing and the resulting stress on the residents soon necessitated the end of even these small efforts at continuing normal living.

Quick, who remained at Matilda Hospital during the entire time the island was being overtaken, recalled that "the planes came within range of the machine guns stationed about 150 yards behind the hospital." The bombing "blew the windows out of the operating room."[11] On December 12, 1941, the Japanese took Kowloon, one mile from the harbor, and Quick was moved to the ground floor of the hospital where he assisted in the "tearing up and burning of pamphlets protesting Japanese military aggression" in preparation for the surrender of the island. The hospital sustained ninety hits, according to Quick, before the island surrendered.[12]

A few days after the declaration of war on Hong Kong by the Japanese Dr. Rankin left Kowloon to deliver a passport to Quick. By the time he returned to Kowloon, on December 12, the city had surrendered to the invaders and Rankin became a captive of the

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[9] Ibid., 22.

[10] Ibid., 22.

[11] Oz Quick, "Convalescing Under Shellfire," The Commission, June 1943 10-11.

[12] Ibid., 11.

Japanese.[13] By December 19 Quick learned, by listening to temporarily unjammed radio broadcasts, that the Japanese had landed on the island. It was only then that he was aware that he might become a permanent captive of the Japanese. He and hospital personnel quickly resumed the destruction of "anti-Japanese documents - propaganda, letterheads, Red Cross records and personnel documents." On December 20 all water to the hospital was cut off. Chinese servants deserted the hospital, so Quick, along with hospital personnel, began carrying water from an outside well to the hospital for cooking and patient care.[14]

While the hospital suffered almost continuous bombing, Quick described the "worst shock" as the time when a shot went through the baby ward, and "through the outside door about a foot above the floor, and lodged in the wall across the hall." Despite the crashing of windows all infants were safe because the shell had travelled down the center aisle between the rows of cribs.[15]

The worst of the bombing and the most intensive and continuous fighting was on December 25, 1941- the day hospital personnel learned that, in Quick's words, "The island had capitulate . . . . I couldn't believe it!" Inciduary bombs continued throughout the day. [16] Preparations for contact with the Japanese continued.

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[13] Oz Quick, Journal, 21.

[14] Ibid., 23.

[15] Ibid., 26.

[16] Ibid., 29.

The rear of Matilda Hospital had been used to station soldiers. Quick aided the military and hospital personnel in the burning of uniforms and other equipment to destroy all evidence that the hospital had been utilized for any war purpose. He helped clean the hospital and "waited for the Japanese to come."[17]

On December 27 the Japanese military did arrive at the hospital to arrange for patients to evacuate in order that Japanese troops might occupy the hospital. The hospital administrator persuaded the military to delay the evacuation of women and children, who composed one-half of the patients, until the next day. High ranking Japanese military medical officers inventoried and marked pieces of furniture, hospital equipment, books and pictures for the invaders use after the evacuation took place.[18]

Dodson and the other missionaries, along with other foreigners caught on the island, remained on the top floor of an apartment building on the south side of the island during three weeks of bombing. They were "in the line of fire between the British and Japanese soldiers on the mainland." The island surrendered on December 25, 1941 and the victors rounded up captives and confined them to "old Chinese hotels" in Victoria City where Chinese Christians were able to smuggle food and necessities to them. Rankin was able to write and have delivered a letter to Quick telling him of the location of other Southern Baptists on the island.

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[17] Ibid., 31-32.

[18] Ibid., 32.

They were located at 1 May Road, following a relocation from the now Japanese occupied Branksome Towers hotel.[19]

Quick continued to enjoy the freedom to travel about the island. As soon as he received Rankin's letter Quick left the hospital to visit and determine the condition of the other missionaries. Against the advice of personnel at Matilda Hospital he ventured out on the occupied island and located his missionary companions. Quick, Rankin, and Cecil Ward traversed the island in search of food. They discovered that the Japanese had closed the markets on the island. There were, however, hawkers in the central market who were selling produce to the captives at inflated prices. They purchased supplies, mainly food products- corn, tomatoes, raisins and oatmeal- that they would need in captivity. The three missionaries still enjoyed considerable freedom of movement, presumably due to Japanese organizational problems and slow coordination in the Japanese military as they coordinated to gain greater control of the large numbers of newly captured.

Rumors about Japanese treatment of captives had been rife on Hong Kong in the months before the invasion. The uncertainty following the takeover frightened the captives. The Wards were particularly anxious because Cecil was ill and Gertrude was pregnant. During the few weeks of relative freedom they prepared for the possibility of eventual incarceration.

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[19] Ibid., 32-33.

The longer the Japanese military occupied the island the more tense, confining, and seemingly dangerous it became to the captives. Quick recorded in his journal that the group of Southern Baptist missionaries who lived at 1 May Road were robbed by Japanese looters while living in the residence. Interestingly, mail was still being delivered on the island and Quick received a letter on January 2, 1942 informing him of the looting. The invaders wanted money and jewelry. They had a particular interest in watches, and it was rumored that each military man had as an ambition to have his entire arm decorated with time pieces.[20] Quick hurried to May Road to assist Rankin in guarding the women and possessions.

When the invaders became more organized the Japanese troops began to restrict the movements of foreigners. Quick wore a Red Cross arm band which permitted greater mobility and freedom to replenish supplies. They were able to purchase only three days' supplies per trip. This limitation concerned them.

During the trips for food he and Rankin encountered what Quick described as "looters" near deserted roads in the countryside. Most times they negiotiated their way to roadside stands to purchase supplies at high prices and then return safely to May Road. The missionaries armed themselves with iron pipes and bricks to prepare for another robbery, but fortunately none occurred. Often in the May Road residence the missionaries banged pipes and bricks against a railing to effectively frighten potential looters. Within weeks the Japanese robbers became more desperate. Quick remarked about the looters: "Looters were very bad.

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[20] G. B. Endacott, Hong Kong Eclipse, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 116.

Took out all available wood, window casings, door and frames, floors staircases anything wood. Beautiful furniture was ruined. Smashed often without any use made of it. Also much was burned and still some found its way into stores to be sold later."[21]

Quick made several trips between May Road and Matilda Hospital before he and the others were assembled for confinement in Stanley Prison. During his time at Matilda he busied "cleaning lamps, emptying commodes, digging graves, sweeping, and cleaning up, keeping watch at night for looters." Although he was not medically trained he helped with patient treatment.[22] A truck delivered water to the hospital once every few days. In addition, Quick recalled "coolies" returned to the hospital to gather water on days when it was not delivered.[23]

By January 4, 1942, only a little more than one week following the capture of the island , the Japanese military issued an order that all "enemy aliens" must gather in a wide area called "Murray Parade Ground" on January 6th to receive instructions. About 1600 captives were instructed to report to various Chinese hotels in the area. Rankin, Pender, Dodson, and the Wards were relocated from their residence on May Road to the Nam Ping Hotel.[24] Although these missionaries were not permitted to leave the hotel and their movements were, in general, more strictly restricted, Quick, presumably because of his Red

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[21] Oz Quick, Journal, page not numbered, a brief note on a page between 36 and 37.

[22] Ibid., 37.

[23] Ibid., 37.

[24] Ibid., 38.

Cross armband, was able to resupply the Baptists. Captives were also aided by Chinese Christians who were permitted by the Japanese to communicate with and assist their missionary associates.

The missionaries prepared for incarceration. They collected tin cups and plates and other necessities for their final and most restrictive captivity.[25] Quick offered his aid. He believed, up until this time, that he might not be confined in Stanley Prison because of his association with the hospital. After War Memorial Hospital, another hospital on the island, was evacuated and the staff transported in trucks to Stanley, he began preparing himself for possible life in captivity. Still he hauled bags of rice and other supplies to Matilda from War Memorial in hopes that Matilda personnel would be able to maintain some measure of freedom. Finally the residents of Matilda were notified that all would be transported to Stanley. Only two male doctors and two women, who were nurses or trained in a medical field, were permitted to stay at the hospital. All patients, mostly women with newborn or ill children, set out on foot for the "New Asia Hotel" where they slept enroute to the final destination of Stanley Prison. Here, Quick wrote, they "feasted on the best food and drink they were to enjoy for some months to come."[26]

Stanley Prison was located on the southernmost region of the island. Initially the Japanese, in negotiation with officials who represented the foreigners on the island, had

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[25] Ibid., 41.

[26] Ibid., 43.

recommended two alternative sites for the confinement of the prisoners on the island. They were the Hong Kong Hotel and the Glouster Hotel, two of the more spacious hotels on Hong Kong. Officials representing the prisoners had objected to these sites because they thought, given the large number and variety of ages of the interned, there was a special need for "space and sports."[27]

Sizeable as it was, no preparations for the internees had been made at the prison. There was a larger number of prisoners than the Japanese expected which led to extreme crowding. There were no cooking supplies and there was no fresh water. The toilet facilities were extremely inadequate.[28] While conditions were terrible at the camp, they were more favorable during the period that the Southern Baptist missionaries were interned. Toward the end of the war conditions worsened and some prisoners died of starvation.[29]

As soon as the Japanese were able to round up the 1,600 British, 80 Dutch, and 330 Americans they were confined to the prison.[30] During several hours they were gathered and transported by small boats to the prison. When they arrived at the Stanley Prison dock, Quick discovered that consular personnel were interned at the dock to assist with the arrangements.

Flora Dodson remembered great suffering and deprivation at the prison. Many people lost their lives, although most deaths occurred after the Southern Baptist missionaries

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[27] Ibid., 46.

[28] Endacotte, Hong Kong Eclipse, 198.

[29] Ibid., 202.

[30] Flora Dodson to J. T. Williams, Letters and Statements.

were repatriated from the island. Oz Quick is detailed in his account of the Stanley facility and conditions. He described his personal position at Stanley Prison as "fortunate," in that he had more of the comforts of life than many of his fellow prisoners. The men in his living area had "a table, divan, two cushioned chairs, a side board and screened cabinet." Most, he observed, slept on concrete floors.[31] He was issued a ration card, which he seldom used. He stood in a que for all rations.

The worst deficiency in the prison was shoes. Although there was no actual crime in the camp there was petty larceny and, for some, it was every man for himself.[32]

The prison provided for close and rustic living. The prison had no electricity and Quick's job was to boil water for prisoner and guard consumption.[33] While there were no major epidemics, dysentery was common. Some prisoners got malaria, but few came down with typhoid since most inmates had received inoculations.[34] The prison compound was about twenty barbed wire enclosed acres which was well guarded on all sides and surrounded by ocean on three sides. Although the actual Hong Kong prison was located inside the area, the majority of the civilian captives were housed in sixteen small apartment buildings, some surrounding cottages, and St. Stephen's College dormitory facilities and classroom buildings. Although the conditions were crowded, with two families to a room at times, Quick describes

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[31] Oz Quick, Journal, 47.

[32] Endacott, Hong Kong Eclipse, 206.

[33] Oz Quick, Journal, 48.

[34] Endacotte, Hong Kong Eclipse, 205.

the site as "the best possible spot for internment which the island affords." The "blocks" of British, American, and Dutch communities separated and were self governing. Each block made "presentations to the Japanese" for requests. Quick described the camp as having quite a bit of freedom and the "atrocities which sometimes take place in prisons did not happen to us."[35] Again, it is important to remember that, unlike Quick and the other Southern Baptist missionaries, many prisoners lived in Stanley for the duration of World War II.

Each national "block" quickly organized work groups which functioned to provide for some of the needs of the captives. Quick, along with the five other missionaries, was part of one of the four American blocks, along with the five other Southern Baptist missionaries. Work within the block was voluntary, and responsibilities were broken down so an individual worked with a "crew" or "staff." Quick, a young man in his early twenties, described life in the camp in a somewhat upbeat and optimistic manner:

> There was the cooking staff, a sanitation squad, a gardening crew, a ration crew (we had to go to the Japanese headquarters each day for our rations), and water-boiling crew. The women in the camp formed a sewing club and Miss Pender was leader. A hospital was run by the British. We had good doctors, for Hong Kong's best were interned with us. We had worship services each Sunday with Japanese supervision.[36]

It is possible that Quick was uniquely optimistic in the prison setting in that in the June 1943 issue of The Commission, there is a photo of Quick with the other interned missionaries on Hong Kong with a quote by Rankin:

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[35] Oz Quick, "Convalescing Under Shellfire," The Commission June 1943, 11.

[36] Ibid., 11.

> The Stanley Internment Camp was fortunate in having Oz Quick as one of its "guests." He infused into the life of the camp the spirit of youth. He was a leader in activities for children and young people, he conducted a junior church service each Sunday and he did much to keep us older people from taking too seriously the daily routine of camp life. [37]

The morale and comradeship, particularly in the first few weeks following the Japanese capture of the island, seemed to be very good under the circumstances. However Quick reported, after he had been released, that when drink and tobacco ran out, and "crowded conditions had their effect" then "nerves became nerves."[38]

The Japanese were unable to provide enough food for the internees and all rapidly lost a great deal of weight. Food was a preoccupation because the daily food ration consisted of a small amount of flour, sugar and salt, and sometimes some insect infested rice.[39] Quick swiftly lost twenty pounds while living in the prison. The situation was worst between the months of December 1941 and April 1942. After April the prisoners were able to obtain an additional ration of flour to add to their meager meal of wormy rice. The Chinese friends of the six Southern Baptists undertook risks to smuggle food, mostly canned goods, to the prisoners.

By June 1942, the captives began hearing rumors of a planned repatriation. Many were skeptical of the information which they could obtain from the Hong Kong News, a broadcast in English which was, since the surrender of the island, aired by the Japanese. After

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[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Endacotte, Hong Kong Eclipse, 201.

many rumors and disappointments the six Southern Baptist missionaries, along with several other prisoners, boarded the Japanese repatriation ship-the Asama Maru-to leave behind Stanley Prison and the remainder of the captives to sail to Lourenco Marques for the first of two prisoner exchanges.[40]

Occupied Shanghai

Prior to the bombing of Pearl Harbor the Southern Baptist missionaries were able to continue, although sometimes with modifications, their evangelical, medical and teaching activities in the Japanese occupied territories of mainland China. Following the United States entry into World War II, however, Americans in China were representatives of the enemy to Japan and they attempted to, at first, restrict them to their homes, and then gather them together for confinement in large facilities to await repatriation or the end of the war.

The missionaries believed that the Japanese military was prepared to enter every mission station immediately after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. J. T. Williams, acting Secretary for the Orient who lived in Shanghai, recalled the actions of the army during the period when foreigners in China were considered prisoners of war:

> By nine o'clock on the morning of December 8, 1941 the Japanese military had arrived at every mission station and informed the people that war had broken out between the two countries and that they would have to do whatever they were told to do. They were allowed to stay in their homes, but

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[40] Oz Quick, "Convalescing Under Shellfire," The Commission, June 1943, 11.

> were not allowed to go outside their compounds. . . . In Shanghai we were told over the radio and through the newspapers what to do and what not to do, though we were allowed to move about fairly freely inside the city. [41]

Williams was eventually joined by his fellow missionaries from interior China who were transported by the Japanese to the Shanghai mission. Several Southern Baptist missionary activities were relocated in Shanghai, including schools and a seminary. Missionaries operated these institutions while under military occupation. [42]

While the missionaries were not physically in danger during the period when their movements and activities were mildly restricted in Shanghai, Williams believed they should not stay in China for the duration of the war. He advised all missionaries to apply for repatriation. At first some refused to participate in the exchange program; however when the Foreign Mission Board directed that every missionary still in Occupied China apply for repatriation, all did so.[43] Perhaps Williams foresaw that the relative freedom the missionaries enjoyed during the first year of the war was short lived.

By the end of 1942 Shanghai was rife with rumors that all American and European nationals in China would be gathered and interned. When they finally could control large numbers the Japanese first contacted individuals who were active in relief activities and ordered them to prepare for travel to containment facilities. These individuals were interned

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[41] J. T. Williams, I Was There, 27.

[42] Ibid., 32.

[43] Ibid., 34.

in old buildings in the center of Shanghai.[44] The Japanese continued gathering small groups to control and organize them into working units.

Finally in February 1943, Southern Baptists received their instructions. J. T. Williams, and the missionaries he worked with, were notified by telephone that they should begin preparing for an indefinite stay away from home. The Japanese offered a list of the items they were permitted to take with them. Williams felt the captors were "reasonable in the list of things one might take for his own comfort." The supplies allowed were "a bed, a stool, bedding, clothing, books, money, food, toilet articles, and a piece of hand baggage."[45] Those who were to be interned came willingly and without resistance and did not feel their lives were threatened.

Williams described February 15, 1943 as a "gala occasion." Hundreds of men were assembled in downtown Shanghai and "all of them had friends in Shanghai who came down to see them off." Chinese citizens, with no apparent fear of the Japanese army on this particular occasion, accompanied their missionary and business foreign associates. The sendoff pleased the missionaries who faced internment. Williams, who was led off along with six other Southern Baptist missionaries, depicted the scene as parade-like:

> In all my experience of more than twenty years in Shanghai, I had never seen such a crowd downtown to 'sung' their friends as they left the wharf. It is about four city blocks from the municipal building (the starting point) to the jetty. All along the way people were standing six or eight deep on both sides

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[44] Ibid., 35.

[45] Ibid., 35.

> of the street, and large numbers following in the street beside their friends who were marching off to prison camp. No one will ever know just how many people came down that morning, but there must have been from five to ten thousand lining the streets and the river bank. It really was a gala occasion. Such an expression of friendship and good will must have made the Japanese green with envy or red with anger.[46]

The seven Southern Baptist missionaries, all male, who participated in this parade to the internment camps were Williams, Wilson Fielder, Arthur S. Gillespie, H. H. McMillian, H. H. Snuggs, J. H. Ware, and C. H. Westbrook. Gillespie was able to send a twenty-five word message to his family through the International Red Cross which stated:

> All segregating in centers until repatriation. Good plan. Am well, happy - no material needs. Taking all my things - even good bed. Sorry for you. Love.[47]

Later female missionaries were gathered for internment at another facility in Shanghai.

For approximately one year Williams and his group lived in a compound referred to as the "Pootung Civil Assembly Center " in Shanghai. He reflected: "Life in the concentration camp was hard . . . but it could have been worse." The inmates prepared "poor quality" food brought to them by the Japanese military personnel. Williams lost twenty-five pounds during his stay, however his captors supplied him with vitamins to supplement the insufficient diet. They also were permitted through the Red Cross to receive packages of food sent to them by missionaries workin in Free China.[48]

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[46] Ibid., 36.

[47] Pauline Pittard Gillespie, Contributed in Full: The Life of Arthur Samuel Gillespie, (manuscript in archives of Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, Richmond, Virginia, 1973), 239.

[48] Ibid., 244.

Other than food preparation and chores around the camp, there was no forced physical labor and Williams saw no brutality or purposeful mistreatment of the prisoners by the Japanese.[49] Gillespie's chore was to "clean up a room for the canteen"- a job he shared with British internees.[50] In fact, the inmates enjoyed relative freedom within the containment structures. They organized and participated in sports events, particularly baseball. Gillespie described the games as "lively" where they had "great fun."[51] In the Pootung Center many of the internees were teachers or university professors from Soochow University, St. John's Episcopal University, or the Baptist University of Shanghai. The men created "Pootung University" and taught sixty different classes. The captives had the opportunity to study six languages and many took advantage of the time and free instruction.[52] Arthur Gillespie preached in the dining room on occasion and taught Mandarin Chinese.[53]

In September 1943 the Pootung internees were notified that arrangements had been made by the Japanese and the United States for an exchange of prisoners. All missionaries except Elizabeth Hale agreed to leave China on the Japanese ship the Teia Maru.[54] She had

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[49] J. T. Williams, I Was There, 37.

[50] Gillespie, Contributed in Full, 241.

[51] Pauline Pittard Gillespie, Contributed in Full, 246.

[52] J. T. Williams, unpublished manuscript, 37-38.

[53] Pauline Pittard Gillespie, Contributed in Full, 241-242.

[54] In fact two female missionaries refused to be repatriated and remained captives of the Japanese army by choice. In addition to Elizabeth Hale, Mrs. Frank Tatum also decided against repatriation. Oddly the Foreign Mission Board published in the November 1943 issue

initially completed and signed an application to achieve repatriation status on Williams' recommendation. Williams was disappointed that all incarcerated missionaries would not be returning together and wrote of Hale: "She learned it was possible for her to sign off, and did just that, after promising that she would go home if she had an opportunity." In his frustration he wrote to the Foreign Mission Board: "There was absolutely nothing I could do . . . . I had done all I could to get *all* our people out."[55] Gillespie, however, was grateful to leave China and noted that during the months of confinement in the Pootung Center "February 15 to September 18, 1943 God had been remarkably good and gracious to us."[56]

Other Occupied Areas of China

Southern Baptist missionaries in other areas of occupied China experienced similar restrictions to their movements and activities to the Shanghai groups. In Shantung Province Lois Glass, Deaver Lawton and Doris Knight were involved in evangelical work on December 7, 1941. When war was declared Japanese military personnel escorted Glass to her home where she was met by the other Southern Baptists and a French-Canadian Catholic priest who was to be interned on the mission compound.

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of The Commission: "We have no information concerning the reasons for their not being included among those who were to return, except that there is not space on the ship for all Americans in occupied China." 13.

[55] J. T. Williams, I Was There, 38.

[56] Gillespie, Contributed in Full, 247.

The missionaries' circumstances were similar to that of the captives in Shanghai. While the missionaries were not permitted to leave the mission station and were guarded continuously they enjoyed some freedoms. Glass and the others welcomed Chinese friends at night, once their Japanese guards departed to the city to spend the night and were replaced by traitor Chinese guards.[57] The four missionaries held classes, religious services, played games, listened to music, and celebrated holidays.

In the summer of 1942 the Japanese military made arrangements to transport Glass, Lawton and Knight to a larger internment camp in the Chinese port city of Chefoo. All Americans were issued an armband marked with an "A" to indicate they were American captives, but they moved freely about Chefoo.

The missionaries witnessed considerable harrasement of the Chinese by both the Japanese military and Chinese guerrillas. The guerillas were presumably Communists, who concentrated on enlisting village peasants to help resist the Japanese. Glass remembered there was once an attack on the Japanese by Chinese "guerrillas." In addition, she stated that "guerrilla fighters" slipped into villages at night and convinced the population to dig up the roads so that by day the Japanese forces could not pass over them. Then during the day, when the invading military discovered the trenches dug in the roads they would force the same

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[57] Lois Glass, Information Regarding Internment and Repatriation, 1941-1943, personal recollection of the Sino-Japanese War in China letter to the author, April 1995, (in archives of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, Richmond, Virginia).

peasant population to fill and repair them. Glass reflected, "Many villages were burned .... The people suffered from both the Japanese and their own soldiers."[58]

Glass and other Southern Baptist missionaries spent several weeks of relative freedom in Chefoo and were then transported by train to a Methodist University campus in Shanghai to meet others who had applied for and were awaiting repatriation. There they endured questioning, baggage examination, and "red-tape" as they were processed by the Japanese for departure on the Teia Maru.[59]

Reba Stewart, a missionary in Harbin, Manchuria, was faced by a Japanese policeman on December 12, 1941, and was told to pack some necessities in preparation for transport to a concentration camp.[60] She and two other missionaries were the only women in the camp where British, American and Russian men were assembled. They were given necessities by the Japanese and were offered three meals a day. Gradually more women were brought to the camp and eventually they were moved to another location.[61]

Harrasement by the Japanese military was minimal. When Stewart was preparing for repatriation in Harbin her baggage was inspected numerous times. She was not permitted to carry any Chinese books. She, along with others who were to be repatriated, traveled by train to Pusan, Korea. They were not permitted to look out of any of the train windows. In Kobe,

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[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Reba Stewart to J. T. Williams, Letters and Statements.

[61] Ibid., 6.

Japan, they were interned again. They were transferred to Tokyo, and then to Yokohama and on June 25, 1942 embarked on their repatriation voyage.[62]

Repeatedly, the same procedures were utilized by the Japanese military to restrict and incarcerate foreigners caught on China's soil during the war between Japan and the United States. During 1942 and 1943 two formal repatriations were arranged to allow all seventy-eight Southern Baptist missionaries who were held by the Japanese in China to return to the United States.

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[62] Ibid., 10-11.

CHAPTER 5

Repatriation and the Gripsholm Prisoner Exchanges

On two occasions, in 1942 and 1943, Southern Baptist missionaries interned by the Japanese military in China were exchanged for Japanese citizens captured on United States soil. These exchanges, and the complicated events leading to the actual transfer of prisoners, were delicate diplomatic arrangements which involved neutral European countries and various diplomats in Africa and South America. Detailed study of the negotiation process which led to the exchanges offers insight into how lengthy and complex diplomatic exchanges of personnel are during periods of war. Further, the prisoner exchanges reveal the cooperation, interest, and aid of numbers of persons and countries who participated in the freeing of innocent men and women caught in enemy territory when their countries went to war.

While this study details the diplomatic efforts from the point of view of the Southern Baptist missionaries and the Foreign Mission Board, numbers of other American diplomats, businessmen, and missionaries, representing many associations, were exchanged along with the Baptists. The description, in part, is also their story. The two prisoner exchanges on the Swedish the Gripsholm, reveal little studied but important information on the complexity of the willing and successful cooperation of two warring nations - the United States and Japan,

and their allies and neutral nations who communicated with both in order to free innocent captives.

The first group of Southern Baptist missionaries to be repatriated to the United States on the Gripsholm were forty men and women who had been held for months in house arrest or concentration camps by the Japanese military in occupied areas of China.[1] Some were assembled from remote areas of China where they had been living restricted lives under military rule. The missionaries were then transported to Shanghai and processed for departure by sea to the exchange location.

The first repatriation on the Gripsholm culminated a long period of, at times, tense negotiations and precarious arrangements. In December of 1942 the United States Department of State submitted a proposal to the government of Switzerland to request that a neutral country act as a "guarantor" to both the Japanese and the United States during the arrangements to repatriate the prisoners of war. The Swiss government refused to accept this role, however they did agree to communicate between the two countries to allow safe conduct of the passengers, and to "determine the shares to be paid by the interested governments" in the operation of an exchange vessel. The Swiss also agreed to permit a representative to travel on board the ship and recommended that Red Cross personnel also

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[1] See appendix 4 for list of missionaries.

accompany the passengers.[2] The United States government detailed very specific instructions which were communicated to the Japanese through the Swiss government:

> The United States government will select a passenger vessel to carry to Lorenco Marques, or other points agreeable to both parties, the officials to be exchanged. It will proceed unarmed and will travel without convoy under safe conduct of the belligerent governments.
>
> The persons embarked on this vessel will be allowed to take with them their personal effects subject to limitation . . . . They will not be subjected by the United States authorities to search of any kind.
>
> Persons embarking on the Japanese vessel will be allowed to take with them their personal effects subject to such limitations as may be imposed by availability of space on the vessel.
> Persons will not be subject to search of any kind. This would be true of their accompanying dependents and staffs.
>
> The United States government shall on its own behalf guarantee safe conduct for the duely notified vessels concerned in the exchange throughout their voyage. It will obtain similar assurance of safe conduct from other belligerents friendly to it for the vessels concerned in the exchange. Japan shall likewise guarantee safe conduct for all vessels concerned in the exchange and shall obtain identical assurance of safe conduct from the belligerent powers associated with it.
>
> All assurances of safe conduct for the vessels concerned in the exchange shall be communicated to the Swiss and Spanish Government which shall at the proper time notify the government providing each vessel that all necessary safe conducts have been received in order that such vessel may commence its voyage.
>
> The government providing each vessel in the exchange shall meet the expenses incident to the operation of the vessel throughout its voyage.

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[2] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1942, Vol.1 Charge in Switzerland Huddle to Secretary of State Hull, Bern, December 30, 1941, 297. Hereafter abbreviated FRUS.

> There shall travel on each vessel representatives of the protecting powers. These representatives shall have unrestricted use of the radio facilities of the vessel for communication in plain language with their respective governments in matters concerning the execution of the exchange agreement and the voyage of the vessel. None of the other passengers shall be permitted any use whatever of the radio facilities of the vessel.[3]

The United States, along with the British, took the diplomatic initiative. They encouraged their allies to cooperate to enable the first prisoner exchange to succeed. Secretary of State Cordell Hull's telegram to the Swiss representative concerning the specifics of the first exchange was direct when he stated: "This Government will, furthermore, suggest that none of the governments in the Americas which may request participation in the arrangements adopt toward the personnel of the Japanese and associated governments an attitude less favorable than that which this Government is extending."[4]

The exchange of prisoners was delayed by a number of details and confusing issues which were difficult to resolve. Japan requested that the Spanish government represent the Japanese interests in the United States.[5] At issue was the category of prisoner to be released by each country. Initially, for the first United States-Japanese exchange only "diplomatic, consular, and other official personnel" were to be included in the trade. It was not until late January 1942 that "religionists, scholars, and students" from Manchuria and occupied areas

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[3] Ibid., Secretary of State Cordell Hull to Charge Huddle in Switzerland, Washington, December 26, 1941, 282.

[4] Ibid., 385.

[5] Ibid., Charge Huddle in Switzerland to Secretary of State Hull, Bern, January 5, 1942, 386.

in China were added to the Japanese repatriation lists [6] The State Department pressed the Japanese for an exact listing of citizens who were to return to the United States. Secretary of State Hull requested, in a number of Swiss relayed messages "additions or amendments to lists of officials and newspaper correspondents which have already been provided." There was growing concern in the United States about the return of what the State Department labeled "non-official" personnel. This category included Southern Baptist missionaries. On February 7, 1942 Hull requested "at the earliest opportunity lists of non-official persons in the Far East who will be repatriated."[7] While the United States was certain of the names of a number of returnees, it was not until May 1942 that the names of Southern Baptist missionaries began to appear on the Japanese repatriation list given to the Swiss. At that time the Japanese announced the names of their exchange ships-the Asama Maru and the Conte Verde- that would be used to transport the captives to the neutral port of Lourenco Marques in southern Mozambique, Portugese East Africa, to meet the Gripsholm. To the relief of the Foreign Mission Board they had also decided to "embark all American non-official persons residing at Hong Kong who wish to leave by the first exchange operation."[8]

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[6] Ibid., Charge Huddle in Switzerland to Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Bern, January 20, 1942, 388.

[7] Ibid., Secretary of State Cordell Hull to the Charge Huddle in Switzerland, Washington, February 14, 1942, 397.

[8] Ibid., Minister of Switzerland to Secretary of State Hull, Bern, May 8, 1942, 418.

Prisoner Exchange # 1

The Gripsholm, the Swiss luxury liner which would be used for the formal prisoner exchanges, was in Europe when negotiations between the United States and Japan began. As plans for the trade of captives were formalized the Gripsholm was chartered by the United States to transport Japanese prisoners from New York to the exchange location in Africa. On June 6, 1942, the New York Times reported the arrival of the Gripsholm, with its 193 returning American citizens.[9] The Gripsholm sailed from Gothenburg, Sweden to the United States with passengers who been caught by war in Europe on board. As soon as these travelers cleared customs in the New York harbor preparations for the boarding of approximately 1,000 Japanese diplomats, members of diplomatic families, and various other Japanese nationals commenced.[10] They were to be exchanged in Portuguese East Africa for an approximately equal number of captive Americans and British from China and Japan and returned to the United States.

The Gripsholm had been "lying in Swedish waters since the outbreak of the war" and was the second Swedish vessel which had been chartered by the United States as an "official exchange vehicle" during the war. The enemy nations had agreed to allow the bright blue and yellow 18,134 ton ship, which traveled at speeds averaging 15 1/2 knots, to transport citizens

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[9] New York Times, June 6, 1942.

[10] Ibid.

for repatriation. Among the ship's decorations and insignia was the word "diplomat" written in oversized letters on the side of the ship.[11]

The United States State Department appeared to have considered the needs and preferences of the passengers before they began the voyage to Lourenco Marques, a trip which was expected to take about one month. Officials of the department arranged for the loading of 6,000 pounds of rice and 72,000 bottles of American beer. Among other items carried on board for the needs of the passengers were:[12]

meat.....100,000 pounds
milk..... 4,000 gallons
poultry..... 82,000 pounds
cream..... 6,000 gallons
flour..... 75,000 pounds
tomatoes..... 3,500 pounds

Although the Japanese passengers who boarded the Gripsholm for the planned exchange and repatriation had visited, lived, or worked in the United States before the bombing of Pearl Harbor, when the captives boarded the ship before departure, they boarded under armed guard. They had arrived in New York City following train trips from White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, and Hot Springs, Virginia, where they had been interned since the bombing of Pearl Harbor.[13] They had been assembled in Virginia and West Virginia

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[11] Ibid., June 10, 1942.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

from various locations in the United States, Canada, and Latin America.[14] While the passenger list included many prominent Japanese statesmen and diplomats who had been in the United States in December 1941, the most notable were Admiral Kichisaburo Nomura, the Japanese ambassador to the United States, and his associate, Saburo Kurusus, who had been involved in the negotiations with the United States government just prior to the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor.[15] Secretary of State Hull communicated to the Japanese through the Swiss government that all efforts had been made to expedite the repatriation effort and offer assurance that " the United States government has in order to facilitate their contemplated eventual repatriation avoided for the most part arresting and making criminal charges against Japanese nationals to whose activities it objects." Hull promised that " the United States confirms that it expects to repatriate upon the contemplated voyages of the Gripsholm all Japanese internees or detainees" who expressed the desire for repatriation. [This included many individuals who were being held in United States detention and internment camps.] The arrangement, Hull stressed in his communications with the Swiss depended on "full reciprocity" by the Japanese. He expected that "the Japanese government will accommodate on the first exchange vessels leaving Japan all those American nationals whom it has interned or arrested."[16]

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[14] New York Times, June 19, 1942.

[15] Ibid., June 12, 1942.

[16] FRUS, 1942, Vol. I, Secretary of State Hull to Minister Harrison of Switzerland, Washington, May 16, 1942, 420.

Southern Baptist missionaries and other British and American captives in China anxiously waited word of possible repatriation. On June 1, 1942 a circular telegram was transmitted to the Foreign Ministers's offices in the following countries: Cuba, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, Belgium, Poland, Norway, the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Mexico, Colombia, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay and the Greek government in exile. The telegram cleared the way through a world at war for accidental prisoners of war to return to their homes. Hull's message was brief and direct:

> Please inform Foreign office that Gripsholm, a Swedish vessel chartered by the United States Government for transporting Japanese to Lourenco Marques and for bringing Americans back to New York, will adhere to the following schedule on its first voyage: Leave New York, 4 p.m. June 10; arrive Rio de Janeiro June 24; leave Rio de Janeiro June 25; arrive Lourenco Marques July 7; leave Lourenco Marques July 11; arrive Trinidad for fuel and water July 29; leave Trinidad July 30; arrive New York August 4.
>
> Gripsholm is Painted white with the name of the vessel, the Swedish flag and the words *Sverige* and *Diplomat* painted prominently on port and starboard. The vessel will travel fully lighted at night with identifying markings fully illuminated.
>
> Please request Foreign Office to grant safe-conduct for the several voyages of Gripsholm between New York and Lourenco Marques. Inform Department as soon as assurance of safe-conduct is received in order that Department may notify Swiss Government.

> Sailing dates of subsequent voyages of Gripsholm will be communicated in advance of each sailing.[17]

The United States assured the Japanese government that after June 10, 1942, the Conte Verde and the Asama Maru would have safe passage. The State Department had warned that passage was not safe before this date because of "lateness of notification by the Japanese Government" and stressed that at least 10 days notice must be given before safe passage of the exchange vessels could be guaranteed.[18]

On June 9, 1942 Secretary Hull circulated the itineraries of the Japanese ships in his attempt to "obtain urgent assurances of safe-conduct for voyages of the Asama Maru and Conte Verde from Japan to Lourenco Marques and return." The itinerary of the Asama Maru was as follows:

> Leaves Yokohama June 17, arrives Hong Kong June 22, leaves Hong Kong June 23, arrives Saigon June 26, leaves Saigon June 27, arrives proximity of Singapore June 29, leaves proximity of Singapore July 3, crossing Straits of Sundaand passing south of Mauritius, Reunion and Madagascar, arrives Lourenco Marques July 19, arrives proximity of Singapore August 1, leaves proximity of Singapore August 4, arrives Kobe, August 12.

The itinerary of the Conte Verde was as follows:

> Leaves Kobe June 18, arrives Shanghai June 21, leaves Shanghai June 24, arrives proximity Singapore June 30, leaves proximity Singapore July 3,

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[17] Ibid., Secretary of State Hull to Ambassador Braden in Cuba, Washington, June 1. 1942, 425-426.

[18] Ibid., Secretary of State Hull to Minister Harrison of Switzerland, Washington, June 4, 1942, 426-427.

arrives Lourenco Marques July 16. Return voyage to Japan on same itinerary as Asama Maru.[19]

The Japanese government wanted the Asama Maru and the Conte Verde to be easily recognized by other ships. The markings on the ships were very distinctive. Two white crosses with Japanese insignia were painted on each side of the grey hulls. The Japanese insignia was painted on top of the fore deck cargo hatch, and a white cross was painted on top of quarter deck, cargo hatch, and both ends of the bridge. The Japanese insignia was hoisted on the foremast and a white cross was painted on both sides of the funnels.

Travel at night for the ships was more dangerous than during the day. They were lit after dark with a series of red and green light signals mounted in vertical order on the main mast. In addition, the Japanese ships were lit brightly with white crosses on both sides of the hull and the stern. White crosses were lit on the funnels and quarter deck. Cargo lamps were fixed on each side of the stern to project light on the markings to indicate it was an exchange ship.[20]

A delay in the departure of the Gripsholm after the passengers, baggage, and supplies were loaded reveals the difficulty in the negotiations process. The ship was delayed for several days because the State Department still had not received a listing of the Americans to be exchanged from China and Japan. Although the ship was to depart New York on June 11,

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[19] Ibid., 428.

[20] Ibid., Secretary of State Hull to British Ambassador Winant, Washington, June 9, 1942, 430.

1942, the Japanese government, for a reason that is unclear, announced that safe passage of the Gripsholm could not be guaranteed until June 16. The State Department, in an announcement of the delay, stated:

> The sailing of the Gripsholm with the Japanese officials and other nations to be exchanged has been postponed for two reasons: First the American Government has failed to receive from the Japanese Government the list of the American nationals to be exchanged out of China; second, the Japanese Government has refused safe conduct to the Gripsholm until the sixteenth of June.
>
> The persons will remain aboard the Gripsholm in the New York waters in expectation of the receipt of the above mentioned list from the Japanese government. The ship will depart on a rearranged schedule on or about the sixteenth of June.[21]

The ships' departure for the exchange was delayed several more times primarily due to confusion about berthing or sleeping arrangements on the Gripsholm. High level diplomats and statesmen, with their families were, by regulation, due specific services and comforts while traveling. This situation was further complicated because of the number of countries involved in the exchange. A number of telegrams were transmitted between the State Department and the office of the Minister in Switzerland detailing the assignment of first, second, and third class berths on the Gripsholm's return trip. Presumably, missionaries and other religious personnel were regarded as third class passengers and their comfort was not a consideration during this phase of planning.

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[21] New York Times, June 12, 1942.

The Japanese had endless problems in arriving at a final repatriation list. The State Department delayed the departure of the Gripsholm because the Japanese failed to supply the United States government with a complete listing of the Americans who were being repatriated from China. In addition, the Japanese government failed to permit safe conduct of the Gripsholm through enemy waters until June 17, 1942--another delay.[22]

In fact, it was not until the evening of June 18, 1942 that the Gripsholm departed the New York harbor for the Far East. The delay necessitated the transmittal of updated schedules for all ships to the governments of interested countries to ensure safe passage. The Gripsholm and the two Japanese ships who were to participate in the exchange sailed under "safe conduct issued by the belligerent governments." Both Swiss and Spanish government officials who represented and acted in the interests of the United States and Japan were on all three ships.[23]

During the month that the Japanese nationals on the Gripsholm were in route to Lourenco Marques for the formal exchange of prisoners, the two Japanese ships also departed with repatriates from various locations in the Far East. Both sides wanted the ships to spend as little time as possible in Lourenco Marques. The plan was that all ships were to arrive in the East African port on the same day.[24]

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[22] FRUS, 1942, Vol. I, Secretary of State Hull to Minister Harrison of Switzerland, Washington, June 12, 1942, 431-432.

[23] New York Times, June 19, 1942.

[24] Ibid.

When the Gripsholm departed New York the New York Times published a partial listing of the Americans to be exchanged for the ultimately 1,096 Japanese nationals on board. Among the passengers listed was Ambassador Joseph C. Grew of Japan who headed the list of official personnel to be repatriated. The others listed were various newspaper correspondents including Robert Bellaire, a United Press correspondent, who had, before the start of the war, reported from Tokyo; and Richard Wilson, United Press Manager in Manila, who had been interned in Hong Kong in December 1941.[25] At this point in the formal exchange procedure the Foreign Mission Board and the families of the interned missionaries were, most likely, still uncertain of the fate of those who had applied for and expected to be repatriated. None of the names of the Southern Baptists who ultimately were exchanged in Lourenco Marques were on the initial list released by the State Department and published in the New York Times.

On June 25, 1942 the New York Times updated the listing of returning citizens. Although no Southern Baptist missionaries who had been interned in China were included on this listing of 629 Americans who were to board the Gripsholm, the names of five of the six missionaries interned in Hong Kong since the start of the war were published for the first time. They were Dr. M. Theron Rankin, Secretary for the Orient, Mr. and Mr. Cecil S. Ward,

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[25] Ibid.

Auris Pender and Flora Dodson. Oz Quick was not yet listed in the prisoner exchange although he was ultimately to return on the Gripsholm. [26]

During the month when all ships were enroute to Lorenco Marques little news was reported from the vessels as they travelled at sea. On July 3, 1942 the Gripsholm docked at the port in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil where 440 additional Japanese citizens, who had been assembled from various locations in Brazil and Paraguay, boarded the ship. The voyage continued with the 1,093 repatriates on board to the exchange location. Interestingly, to prepare for the returning Americans, 6,000 turkeys, 60 tons of beef, and 6,000 quarts of ice cream were added to the manifest in Brazil.[27] While State Department records do not reveal much detail, communications indicate that security was a concern. The Department that "only very carefully selected Brazilian officials should be permitted aboard" while Spanish or Swiss representatives were only allowed on board for the "transaction of necessary official business." In the Brazilian port the Gripsholm was held in a stream "without access of those aboard to the shore," and when the passengers were finally permitted to board, a military guard protected the entrance to the quay. [28]

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[26] Ibid., June 25, 1942.

[27] Ibid., July 4, 1942.

[28] FRUS, 1942, Vol. I, Secretary of State Hull to Ambassador Caffery in Brazil, Washington, June 24, 1942, 436-437.

On the same day that the Gripsholm docked in the South American port the Japanese liner, Asama Maru, arrived at a Saigon port to take an additional 114 citizens of the United States, Canada and South America on board.[29]

Without incident the Asama Maru and the Conte Verde departed Lourenco Marques for Japan on July 26, 1942 with 1,448 Japanese nationals who had been repatriated. On the deck of the Asama Maru, when the ship departed from the wharf, was former Japanese Ambassador to the United States, Admiral Kichisaburo Nomura, who, with a gathering of Japanese passengers "lustily sang the Japanese victory song."[30]

On board the Gripsholm Admiral Nomura invited Joseph C. Grew, former United States Ambassador to Japan, to attend a conference while they both were in the port, however Grew refused to accept the invitation and the two had no future contact.[31]

Following the landing of the Gripsholm, the Asama Maru, and the Conte Verde at the port of Lorenco Marques, Portuguese East Africa, the exchange took place with much misunderstanding and confusion. Hotel accommodations in Lorenco Marques were extremely limited which forced the Americans to use the Gripsholm for sleeping accommodations. Newspapers reported in the United States that the Portuguese authorities and citizens attempted to extend "all possible courtesies to the Americans."[32] While the accommodations

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[29] New York Times, July 4, 1942.

[30] Ibid., July 27, 1942.

[31] Ibid., July 30, 1942.

[32] Ibid., July 28, 1942.

were comfortable, some aspects of the exchange were not. The newly repatriated Americans were dismayed when they were informed that American public health officials on board refused to recognize the Japanese smallpox vaccination certificates and that all on board required revaccination. This, fortunately, would speed the quarantine period when they finally reached United States soil.[33] In addition to vaccinating the returnees, the ship's doctors cared for passengers who were in ill health as a result of their incarceration. There were at least sixty cases of influenza and numbers of passengers suffered and were treated for "stomach disorders."[34]

In addition to facing mass revaccination of all of the passengers, Captain C.M. McGowan of the American Export Department, and others responsible for processing and accommodating the varied former captives were required to unsnarl berthing protocols while many passengers spent nights on deck or in the lounges. Until the confusion was cleared many of the cabins went unoccupied. The misunderstanding apparently resulted from lack of clarity on the Shanghai evacuee list which did not specify sex or age. The Gripsholm had 1,500 berths; 1,100 were in four-bed cabins.[35] Press releases described "a great deal of confusion" but no Southern Baptist repatriated missionaries mentioned the situation in statements or memoirs.

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[33] Ibid., July 30, 1942.

[34] Ibid., August 26, 1942.

[35] Ibid., July 28, 1942.

During the layover in Lourenco Marques thirty-nine United States diplomatic officials were transferred to new positions and nine civilians did not board the Gripsholm after disembarking from the Japanese ships. Further reductions in the passenger list would occur during the ships next port call in Rio de Janeiro as passengers, by choice, continued their journey home by other means of transportation than on the repatriation ship.[36]

Daily life on the Gripsholm, according to Reba Stewart, a returning Southern Baptist missionary, was routine and communal. Hours were filled with missionary meetings, prayer services, and Bible classes. Despite the security of the routine there were reminders of possible danger. Each day drills were held on board to instruct passengers in the method of loading the life boats in case of disaster. Of the crowded ship Stewart remarked, "We knew if disaster came from a plane, boat, or accident, we probably could never reach our life boat."[37]

Although the Gripsholm, on its voyage from Portuguese East Africa to the United States, was at times traveling in warring waters, the trip at sea was uneventful. Once, in the Atlantic Ocean, a burning craft described as "the fuselage of a plane, a floating dock, half a tanker or a German submarine tender," was sighted. The Gripsholm circled the wreck in search of survivors but saw none.[38]

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[36] Ibid., August 11, 1942.

[37] Reba Stewart correspondence to James T. Williams, archives of the Foreign Mission Board, Richmond Virginia, 1967, 11.

[38] New York Times, Aug 26, 1942.

When the Gripsholm reached the Brazilian port United States officials were particularly concerned that "Japanese or other Axis agents are not introduced into the United States aboard the Gripsholm." Particularly, "non-officials" were questioned and all were required to list five native-born United States citizens who would verify the loyalty of each repatriated citizen. All passengers who were not United States citizens were "fingerprinted and extensively questioned." Some of the passengers were Nisei, United States born Japanese, and Chinese, who said they were pro-Chinese Nationalists. These individuals were suspect by United States officials who feared Japanese infiltration activity. So great was the fear and paranoia of enemy spies that may have been in the Brazilian port investigating agents secretly boarded the Gripsholm to insure that there would be no "landing of subversive agents who might have been 'planted' by the Japanese."[39]

On August 11, 1942, the Gripsholm departed the port at Rio de Janeiro and sailed for New York. It arrived on Tuesday, August 25, 1942, where "passengers viewed the Statue of Liberty with tears in their eyes; and some gathered on the port side as the ship came up the bay to sing patriotic songs."[40]

Many of the passengers had not been to the United States in several years. Their families had long awaited the arrival of the former captives and had intensely followed their journey through press reports of the Gripsholm's port calls along the way. Advanced warning

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[39] Ibid., August 11, 1942.

[40] Ibid., August 26, 1942.

had deterred many visitors from coming to Pier F of the American Export Lines. Nevertheless between 400 and 500 friends and relatives remained at the dock throughout the day to wait and watch. Nearly one thousand of the nearly fifteen hundred passengers on board were American citizens. However the country was at war and security was the predominate so only a small percentage of those on board were permitted to immediately come ashore.

The passengers were permitted to come off the ship in the following order: United States diplomats, foreign diplomats, transit passengers enroute to other countries, other foreign officials, American citizens, which included missionaries, and all others.[41] Notably, most of the passengers on the Gripsholm were missionaries and members of missionary families, many of whom had not visited the United States in years. In all there were 747 missionary men, women and children, which represented almost half of the passengers listed on the ship. [42] The United States government was particularly interested in missionaries who had accumulated years of experience working in the Far East. Lengthy questionnaires were completed by these experienced persons. Information was gathered concerning their work experience, languages and other data which would "be taken to Washington for such use as the government sees fit." [43]

Investigating agents, which included the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Navy and Army intelligence officers, and immigration inspectors worked through the night to conduct

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[41] Ibid., August 22, 1942.

[42] Ibid., August 27, 1942.

[43] New York Times August 28, 1942.

"a minute search of the ship and those on board." The FBI was particularly interested in those passengers who had been held captive in China and Japan. They wanted all available information about those who were still in the hands of the Japanese. The agency had accumulated intelligence about the disembarking passengers for several weeks prior to the landing, so the information gathering was not expected to be lengthy. At the end of the first evening only diplomatic officials and members of consular parties had departed the Gripsholm.[44]

Ambassador Grew, the most prominent passenger to disembark, led the officials and was first to come ashore. He along with other officials did not comment when the most often asked question was asked of him concerning the treatment of the former captives by the Japanese. It was reported later that several Americans made private statements that passengers were "protecting hundreds of Americans still in Japanese hands" with one unnamed man saying "there is plenty to tell, and it is horrible, but we can't tell it."[45]

In fact, it was the war and the increasing patriotism, along with a paranoia about the Japanese, which prompted Ambassador Grew to comment as he left the Gripsholm:

> But with all our gratitude for this deliverance we have constantly thought of our compatriots who are still in the territories that we have left, and only when they likewise have come home will our cup of happiness be full. I can add only this: we have come home to contribute our maximum effort to the winning of the war, and in whatever way we may find, or to carry out whatever part we may be called upon to take. We shall win through with our

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[44] Ibid., August 26, 1942.

[45] Ibid.

> national spirit and determination without any shadow of doubt, to ultimate victory. I thank God that we are here to contribute to that victory.[46]

Government authorities had arranged a method of communication through the American Red Cross and the Social Security Board to facilitate communication using messengers, phone calls, and letters between the passengers and their waiting family members.[47] In actuality, it may not have been the investigations which contributed to prolonged unloading of the Gripsholm so much as the record shipment of passenger baggage on board--16,000 pieces of luggage.[48]

All passengers were on land by August 26, with the exception of 150-200 who were transported to Ellis Island for further questioning due to their past "pacifist" activities, speeches, or for other unexplained reasons.[49] This action by the government may have been in response to rumors that "an anti-war movement had developed" on the voyage home, particularly among some of the missionaries.[50] Presumably anti-war meetings had been held on the ship, but in Southern Baptist missionary's records, statements, or memoirs there is no reference to any anti-war activities.

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[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid., August 22, 1942.

[48] Ibid., August 27, 1942.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid., August 26, 1942.

The success of the first voyage of the Gripsholm greatly encouraged the United States government. Secretary of State Cordell Hull announced that the governments of Japan and the United States were discussing another refugee exchange and that the ship would return to Lourenco Marques for another shipload of repatriated citizens.[51]

The reaction of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, like the rest of the country, was one of relief for the missionaries and their families. During 1942 The Commission, the Foreign Mission Board's monthly publication, had reported the progress of the negotiations for the release of the missionaries. Details of the voyage, when they were available, were reported to anxious readers. The Commission writers announced with relief the Gripsholm's arrival:

> The Gripsholm came to her pier in Jersey City about 8:30 a.m. on Tuesday, August 25. It was an inspiring and never to be forgotten sight, when this stately Swedish ship bearing her precious cargo of American citizens, came to rest at last in the quiet waters of the New York-Jersey City harbor.[52]

The Board informed readers that, in the weeks prior to the arrival of the returning missionaries, arrangements had been made at the Prince George Hotel in New York for the families who were going to meet them. The hotel was the Southern Presbyterian Foreign Mission Board headquarters. This organization also expected about forty of its missionaries to return on board to Gripsholm. In fact the Prince George was the meeting point for several

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[51] Ibid., August 27, 1942.

[52] Charles E. Maddry, "The Editor's Message," The Commission, November 1942, 379.

religious denominations who had made advance plans for the return of the former captives. Secretary Charles E. Maddry, executive secretary to the Board, had arranged that the returning men and women have the necessary funds to travel home. Many of the missionaries had no money and most of those who were interned had been unable to collect a salary from the Board for over six months. The Board reported that "many had been robbed of their earthly possessions --money, watches, cars, motorcycles, jewelry. . .clothing," while several "reached America wearing virtually all they possessed."[53] Apparently very little of the reported 16,000 pieces of baggage which were loaded aboard the Gripsholm in Lourenco Marques were part of the possessions of the Southern Baptist missionaries who had been incarcerated by the Japanese in the Far East.

While the Board was jubilant about the return of former captives it was still deeply concerned about the missionaries who remained in occupied China and were at the mercy of the Japanese. When it listed names of the returnees in the Annual Report, a summary of all Southern Baptist actions for 1942, the Board also noted the ten missionaries who were still interned in the Philippines at Manila. They were Reverend and Mrs. H. H. Culpepper, Reverend and Mrs. Robert A. Dyer, Reverend and Mrs. Rufus F. Gray, Fern Harrington, Sallie James, Cleo Morrison and Reverend Earl Parker. Since their capture all efforts to reach them, including attempts by the International Red Cross, had been unsuccessful. The situation in the Philippines had only briefly been the subject of negotiations during communication

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[53] Ibid.

between the State Department and the Japanese government during the period when arrangements were being made for the first repatriation. Secretary Hull, in a telegram to the Swiss Charge, observed, "It is assumed that the Japanese government does not now raise any question regarding the repatriation of Japanese personnel in the Philippines." referring to Japanese nationals interned there who would be exchanged for Americans. [54] In fact, after this reference to the Philippines in official State Department communications, there was no further reference to the internees in the Philippines until preparation for the second repatriation was under way. The returning Americans and British would come from China, Japan, Manchuria, Hong Kong, Indochina, and Thailand. The Southern Baptist missionaries held in the Philippines Islands would have to wait for over a year for the next official exchange of prisoners with the Japanese.

In addition to those in Manila, the Board specifically listed the names of thirty-eight other missionaries who had, at the start of the war, "refused to leave their . . . work" and were either "in prison or internment" in China. Included in the thirty-eight were four captives living in Macao. They were Lora Clement, Lenora Scarlett, and Reverend and Mrs. James L. Galloway.[55]

Despite the long term uncertainty and deteriorating conditions the Board was still hopeful that their one hundred year old work in China could continue and expand. This had

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[54] FRUS, 1942, Vol. I, Secretary of State Cordell Hull to Charge Huddle in Switzerland, Washington, February 7, 1942, 392.

[55] Annual Report, 1943, 135-136.

been the goal before the war began and the Southern Baptists seemed undeterred when they wrote of the returning missionaries:

> All of these representatives will be ready to return to their work in the Orient just as soon as the day of a just and righteous peace comes, as come it surely will.[56]

Prisoner Exchange # 2

Although preparations for the second prisoner exchange began before the first exchange actually occurred, it was not until almost a year and a half later that the Gripsholm returned to New York with the remaining Southern Baptist missionaries. These men and women had been detained or held captive by the Japanese since the start of war with the United States.[57] Most had spent from sixteen to twenty-four months in house arrest, internment, in concentration camps, or a combination of these arrangements while awaiting word of repatriation. Meanwhile the Gripsholm remained anchored in New York waters or in a pier at the American Export Line in Jersey City, New Jersey.[58]

Actually, the second exchange of prisoners almost did not occur. Shortly after the completion of the first repatriation on August 25, 1942 the State Department learned from secret sources that the Japanese were not willing to arrange another exchange with the United

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[56] Charles E. Maddry, "The Editor's Message," The Commission, November 1942, 379.

[57] See appendix 4 for list of missionaries.

[58] New York Times, September 3, 1943.

States or at the very least would not consider another arrangement for two to three months or until, in the Japanese words, the United States "clarifies its attitude."[59] The basis of this remark had to do with the lists that the Japanese rendered to the United States specifying the names of the persons to be repatriated to Japan on the next voyage. In preparation for the first exchange the United States representatives claimed that all of the citizens the Japanese listed by name could not be located in the country. In addition, many who Japan wanted returned were United States citizens, and numbers of these individuals had been offered but had refused repatriation. Further, the United States claimed that there were several thousand Japanese who had expressed a desire to return to Japan but the Japanese government would not include them on the official listing of candidates for the next repatriation.[60]

This impasse seemed to involve more complicated issues than merely a disagreement over the names of individuals on the list. United States government officials, as time went on, discovered that the Japanese' desire for specifically named individuals was due to "a feeling of national honor" in accordance with what the Japanese believed to be "right under the exchange agreement." The United States was inclined to concede to the Japanese and

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[59] FRUS, Vol.I, 1942, Memorandum of Assistant Secretary of State Long, December 16, 1942 Washington, 867-868.

[60] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1943, Vol. III, Secretary of State Hull to Minister Harrison of Switzerland, Washington, February 4, 1943, 868-871.

to put forth great effort to locate and repatriate all on the list based on the belief that "if we accept the Japanese list, the Japanese will be disposed to make important concessions to us with respect to the composition of our list for the second exchange." Of particular concern to United States citizens were five hundred women, children, and ill persons held captive in the Philippines. It was believed, further. that a second exchange would facilitate future exchanges leading to the repatriation of more United States citizens held in the Far East. In addition, the prisoner exchange voyages offered the only means by which the government could ship much needed relief supplies to American internees and prisoners of war in the Far East. So, the United States concluded, it was in the best interest of the country to appease, to the extent possible, the Japanese' request for repatriation of specific individuals.

The United States government had an additional incentive to satisfy the demands of the Japanese. It seemed that underlying all was the apprehension that Great Britain would, independently, effect a second prisoner exchange with the Japanese and "there would be difficulty explaining why this government was not able to do something which the British government was able to do." The British, apparently, had operated under the "unquestioned principle of freedom of repatriation" and had met all of the Japanese demands for repatriation of specific individuals. When a second prisoner exchange with the Japanese appeared less and less likely, Far Eastern Affairs Chief Maxwell M. Hamilton warned the State Department, "There is no question in our minds that the alternative to general acceptance of the Japanese

list for the second exchange is the breakdown of the whole repatriation project, or at least suspension for a very long time." [61]

Another complication which caused considerable delay in the resumption of the repatriation program was the failure of the Japanese to forward their demands in a timely manner. There were months of delay as the United States awaited the specific names of Japanese persons living in Canada, Mexico and Brazil. Once the Japanese submitted the list to the United States the detainees had to be located, interviewed, and in some circumstances transported to various assembly centers within the host country, then finally to the United States.[62]

As a result filling the Gripsholm with willing Japanese repatriates proved difficult for United States officials. Over three thousand of the individuals whose repatriation had been requested by the Japanese refused to return to their country. The United States provided the Japanese government with signed statements from these persons.[63] Finally the State Department requested that Spanish embassy personnel be permitted to select persons to be repatriated, while operating in accordance with directives received from the Japanese. Japan agreed to this compromise. However on several occasions an announced date of the second

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[61] FRUS, Memorandum of the Chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs Maxwell Hamilton to Assistant Secretary of State Long, Washington, May 7, 1943, 874-875.

[62] Ibid., Memorandum from the Department of State to the Spanish Embassy, Washington, June 12, 1943, 877.

[63] Ibid., Secretary of State Hull to Minister Harrison of Switzerland, Washington, July 28, 1943, 890.

sailing of the Gripsholm had to be rescinded, and another scheduled. The long period of delay allowed the diplomatic parties involved to correct, or more accurately specify, details in preparation for the second voyage. The more considered preparation, they hoped, might help avoid some of the difficulties encountered during the first repatriation.

Berthing arrangements had been very confusing for the first exchange officials. In preparation for the second voyage, the State Department requested that the Swiss representative on each exchange ship appoint an advisory committee of passengers to decide berthing arrangements at the port of exchange. This committee was composed of five individuals which included representatives from the other American republics. They were requested to prepare a list of passengers and determine which persons were entitled by official position, physical condition, age, or other reason to be granted the more desirable and comfortable berths and recreation and meeting rooms on the luxurious Gripsholm. Generously, it was decided that the Japanese would be permitted to discuss among themselves any problems they had during the voyage.[64] Passenger and luggage search had been a particularly controversial matter during the first exchange and the Japanese were unhappy. The United States, most especially, violated the prior agreement they had with the Japanese in that, according to Spanish embassy personnel, "American officials searched persons of non-official Japanese evacuees, stripping them without single exception of their clothes and examined their luggage in most unsparing manner." [65] The United States, in its defense,

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[64] Ibid., Secretary of State Hull to Minister Harrison of Switzerland, Washington, July 24, 1943, 886-887.

examined their luggage in most unsparing manner."[65] The United States, in its defense, responded that it "had good reason to believe that certain of those persons were attempting to take with them important amounts of currency in excess of the amounts permitted" and that the "results of the search justified the suspicion." The Japanese officials were also accused of searching "non-official" evacuees. [66] Prior to consenting to the second voyage of the Gripsholm, the Japanese demanded, through Spanish intermediaries, that the United States comply with the terms of the passenger search agreement and that this arrangement be, in fact, lenient. The United States concurred in principle, while reserving the right to search a limited number of individuals when officials believed that "considerations of national security are felt to exist." [67]

The governments of Japan and the United States had learned from their first prisoner exchange experience. Both governments agreed to vaccinate all returnees against smallpox, typhoid, cholera and dysentery. In addition, the Teia Maru was to carry the necessary medications to treat dysentery, should the need for treatment arise as it had during the first exchange.[68] Due to the number of persons on all vessels who had decided to travel despite

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[65] Ibid., Memorandum from the Spanish Embassy to the State Department, Washington, July 26, 1943, 888-889.

[66] Ibid., Memorandum from the Department of State to the Spanish Embassy, Washington, August 7, 1943, 894-895.

[67] Ibid., 895.

[68] Ibid., Secretary of State Hull to Minister Harrison of Switzerland, Washington, September 14, 1943, 926.

illness, both countries agreed to transport three doctors and several nurses on each ship. Both governments readily agreed to receive and distribute emergency relief supplies to prisoners and detainees who were not to be repatriated.[69]

As soon as the exchange dates seemed firm, one hundred persons working in three shifts began packaging 1500 tons of relief supplies. The supplies, provided by the United States Army and Navy and the American Red Cross, consisted of food, medicine, and clothing. Examination of repatriates on the first exchange revealed that their prison diets were deficient in fat so quantities of meat were added to the emergency packages.[70] Prior arrangement was made to detain the ships at the exchange location so that all relief cargo could be transferred to the returning ships. At the request of the Japanese, Intercross-the International Committee of the Red Cross was to handle all matters relating to the relief cargo to be placed on the exchange vessels.[71] The issue of funds which were to be provided each evacuee was clarified. Each adult from either side was restricted to taking either one thousand yen or three hundred dollars out of the country for use on board the ship.[72]

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[69] Ibid., Memorandum from the Spanish Embassy to the Department of State, Washington, August 20, 1943, 909-910; and Memorandum from the Department of State to the Spanish Embassy, Washington, August 23, 1943 911.

[70] New York Times, August 29, 1943.

[71] FRUS, 1943, Vol. III, Secretary of State Hull to Minister Harrison of Switzerland, Washington, August 5, 1943, 892-893.

[72] Ibid., Memorandum from the Spanish Embassy to the Department of State, Washington, July 26, 1943, 889.

On August 31 the State Department finally received from Japan the schedule for the voyage of the Teia Maru, thereby allowing the necessary clearance to be arranged. The planned voyage was as follows:[73]

Outgoing-Leaves Yokohama 14th September
Arrives at Kobe on 15th September
Leaves Kobe on September 16th
Arrives at Shanghai on September `18th
Leaves Shanghai on September 20th
Arrives at Hong Kong on September 22nd
Leaves Hong Kong on September 23rd
Arrives at San Fernando del Norte on September 25th
Leaves San Fernando del Norte on September 26th
Arrives Cap Saint Jacques on September 29th
Leaves Cap Saint Jacques on September 30th
Arrives Syonan (Singapore) on October 2nd
Leaves Syonan (Singapore)on October 4th
Passes through the Straits of Sunda on October 7th
Arrives at Mormugoa on October 15

The Japanese submitted the exact course the Teia Maru would be traveling during this period so the ship would be assured safe passage through hostile waters. The strait between Malaysia and the island of Sumatra was so heavily mined that the Teia Maru had to go around Sumatra and across the Indian Ocean to the west coast of India where it would dock at the neutral port of Mormugoa, in Goa, Portugese India.[74] Germany and other axis countries were

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[73] Ibid., Memorandum from the Department of State to the Spanish Embassy, Washington, September 15, 1943, 927-928.This memorandum was written to acknowledge the final schedule submitted by the Japanese. There had been several itineraries communicated to the United States during the period that the negotiations were taking place.

[74] Lois Glass letter to author, April 1995.

informed of the exact itineraries of both vessels and cooperated fully to allow safe passage of the repatriates and relief cargos.

On September 17, 1943 Secretary Hull received a telegram from Swiss Minister Harrison in Bern which stated: "Teia Maru sailed from Yokohama for Mormugao . . . . Safe conduct assured by all belligerents."[75] There were 492 Protestant and 162 Roman Catholic missionaries, representing thirty-five denominations on the vessel.[76] While enroute the Gripsholm took aboard 173 more Japanese repatriates when it docked in the Rio De Janeiro port, and 83 more in Montevideo, Uruguay, while in route to Mormugoa, Portuguese India.[77] The comfort of the approximately 1500 repatriates on each vessel was a concern of both governments on the voyage to the exchange location at Mormugao. Assuredly, the passengers on the Gripsholm, which departed New York at midnight on September 1 were the more comfortable group. William R. Langdon was the State Department representative on board the Gripsholm and he described the departure as "on schedule, smooth, and with the greatest degree of efficiency" while the "arrangements for the health and comfort and entertainment of the passengers leave little to be desired." Langon mentioned the delicious food, first-class motion pictures, "well-stocked bars and all reasonable wants for daily articles may be obtained from the ship's novelty store." On several occasions a spokesman for the

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[75] FRUS, 1943, Vol. III, Minister Harrison of Switzerland to Secretary of State Hull, Bern, September 17, 1943, 929.

[76] New York Times, October 17, 1943.

[77] Ibid., September 21, 1943.

Japanese thanked him for the United States government's efforts to "provide for the well-being and comfort" of the passengers.[78]

While the accommodations on the Teia Maru were not as luxurious as those of the Gripsholm, it was initially reported that the comfort and needs of the passengers was equally a concern of the Japanese officials in charge of the repatriation. Tokyo based Swiss Minister Gorge, on the day of embarkation of the Teia Maru, reported to the State Department that the atmosphere on the ship was "excellent, nearly gay" and observed that the "Japanese government took pains so that accommodation so many people on boat offers maximum comfort."[79] Later, as the State Department received more detailed accounts the "gay" description of the day of embarkation was contradicted by reports that the passengers were subjected to "extremely severe examination." Many personal articles were confiscated. They included: medicines, infant food, cigarettes, soap, church candles, personal photographs, and all written material including personal documents. Further, unaccompanied women with children and persons in poor health were required to load their own baggage without assistance. The State Department was informed that the Swiss representatives "did everything possible to obtain less severe measures by local Japanese authorities but experienced great

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[78] FRUS, 1943, Vol. III, William R. Langdon, Departmental Representative on Board the Gripsholm, to Secretary of State Hull, September 29, 1943, 931.

[79] Ibid., Minister Harrison of Switzerland to Secretary of State Hull, Bern, September 20, 1943, 930.

difficulty."[80] Storage space was, indeed, of concern to the Japanese as it crammed too many repatriates on the Teia Maru. Each passenger was limited to three pieces of baggage- stowed belongings they had no access to during the entire voyage. This, however, did not explain why the returning Americans could not have in their possession personal writings, photographs and mementos from China. The only book allowed was the Bible.[81] The United States government viewed these restrictions as harrassement by the Japanese officials.

Missionary Rose Marlowe was very uncomfortable. She claimed she shared a bed with sixteen people on the Teia Maru. Boards were used to divide the sleeping spaces and mattresses were loose straw. When no water was available for bathing for several days the passengers persuaded the Japanese crew to fill the swimming pool and all had at least one community bath.[82] Lois Glass ate wormy rice, but helped with school lessons for the children on board, attended lectures and musicals, and participated in Bible studies.[83]

The contrast between the passenger comfort on the Gripsholm and the Teia Maru was stark and the Japanese appeared to enjoy their voyage. Japanese officials on the Gripsholm repeatedly thanked the American representatives on board for "making the voyage so free

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[80] Ibid., Minister Harrison of Switzerland to Secretary of State Hull, Bern, September 25, 1943, 933-934.

[81] Alice Johnson Tucker, Rose of Three Countries: A Story of the Life and Service of Missionary Rose Marlowe, Native of America, Missionary to China and to Japan, published by the author, Louisville, Ky. 1966 101.

[82] Tucker, Rose of Three Countries, 102.

[83] Lois Glass to author, April 1995.

from any difficulties or unpleasantness." Langdon optimistically reported, within a few days of meeting at Mormugao, that "there is a distinct impression that confidence in our government's fairness in all matters affecting Japanese repatriates has increased as a result of the operation." He informed the State Department of the "absence of indications of hostility toward the Americans on board among the Japanese repatriates continued to the end of the journey." [84]

The exchange of American and Japanese nationals was conducted in Mormugao, in Portuguese India.[85] The end of the journey aboard the Gripsholm for the Japanese repatriates came early in the afternoon of October 16, when they docked at Mormugao a day behind schedule and one day after the Teia Maru. The New York Times reported that "Cheers by several hundred Japanese rang out across the water as the Gripsholm, painted white with diagonal stripes in Sweden's colors and bearing the work 'Diplomat' in large black letters on her side was pushed into her berth." Passengers sang as they waited to disembark.[86] American seamen, who had been recruited in New York at the last minute to fill vacancies in the crew on the Gripsholm, gathered on the deck to sing patriotic songs such as "God Bless

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[84] FRUS, 1943, Vol.III, William R. Langdon, Departmental Representative on board the Gripsholm, to Secretary of State Hull, October 23, 942.

[85] Inabelle Graves Coleman, "Under the Sign of the Cross," The Commission April 1944, 6-7.

[86] New York Times, October 17, 1943.

America" and the "Star-Spangled Banner" while the passengers on the Teia Maru cheered. The Japanese on the Gripsholm watched quietly and waved flags.[87]

Langdon reported that Mormugao was "an ideal place for exchanging prisoners and internees." There were cranes and railroad facilities for moving baggage and relief cargo from one vessel to another. Sheds were available for use as offices and holding areas. Sixteenth century buildings were used to house shipping agencies. Otherwise the port where the exchange occurred was, as Langdon described it, "fortunately deserted and isolated from the population center where passengers or crew may get into trouble or be lost or catch disease."[88]

When both vessels were finally in port and the ships' passengers could be exchanged authorities took great pains to keep the two groups of repatriates from having too much contact with one another. No passenger received leave, although a few were permitted to come ashore as guests of consuls. Distinct lanes and enclosures were arranged between the two ships so that there would be "no contact between the Japanese and Americans as they come onto the docks or pass between the two ships."[89] Attempts at separating the two groups were apparently unsuccessful. Newspaper reporters found the two groups mingling around Mormugao docks with a "spirit of tolerance" during the week long period of baggage

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[87] Ibid., October 18, 1943.

[88] FRUS, 1943, Vol. III, William R. Langdon, State Department representative on board the Gripsholm, to Secretary of State Hull, October 23, 1943, 943.

[89] The New York Times, October 16, 1943.

unloading and reloading. Every banana from the dock stands was purchased by Americans who had been without fruit in Japanese camps for months. Both groups assisted the ships' crew in the loading of baggage. The Japanese were organized on shore every afternoon for calisthenics.[90]

American personnel on board the Gripsholm were shocked at the condition and appearance of the passengers who disembarked from the Teia Maru. In their words, "most of the repatriates looked exhausted , if not ailing, emaciated and haggard." They reflected, "The first sight of the Americans on the Teia Maru drove home to us on the Gripsholm the urgency of bringing home as rapidly as possible remaining Americans in the Far East." The New York Times reported the arrival of the Teia Maru:[91]

> "The Teia Maru steamed slowly into this jungle-girt little port at 10:30 this morning. The 1,200 Americans, 250 Canadians and eight -odd Latin Americans aboard were almost all on deck, crowding the rail, swarming over the booms or hanging on to the lines as the ship was maneuvered into dock. Shabbily dressed, their faces bronzed from weeks of sailing in tropical seas, the passengers were mostly silent."

In the dock area press personnel were able to question some of the former captives about their experiences and treatment under the Japanese. But in Mormugao, as in other ports of call along the return trip to New York, the repatriates mostly remained tight-lipped about their experiences of the past two years. Most of the Americans had been released from internment camps or assembly centers in Shanghai and had been labeled "political prisoners."

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[90] Ibid., October 19, 1943.

[91] Ibid., October 16, 1943.

The Japanese repatriates were equally silent. There were no press reports of comments made by any Japanese passenger who was being repatriated at Mormugao. There was however a comment by Baron Hayashi, Tokyo Foreign Office representative on the Teia Maru, and one of the first aboard the Gripsholm. He informed the press that there had been two suicides and three births on the Gripsholm during the six week voyage from New York.[92]

It was not until the Americans boarded the Gripsholm did United States personnel realize how difficult a journey the travel from the Orient had been for the passengers. Only one quarter of the passengers had berths, while the others slept in "double decker' dormitories, in public rooms, and in unventilated holds. Young boys, employed as stewards, were insufficient in number to keep the ship in a sanitary condition and bathroom facilities were "filthy and cluttered with litter." Decaying vegetable matter on the deck was used to feed passengers, and dry food was insect-infested and nearly inedible. The Teia Maru's plumbing was in disrepair, and drinking water was severely rationed. There was no water for bathing. It was unofficially reported that several of the repatriates had somehow smuggled more money aboard than had been permitted. The actions of these few resulted in their being able to buy favors from the shorthanded crew, so "rackets quickly developed and at length the already short rations were withheld by "table boys" and peddled all over the ship to those with money."[93]

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[92] Ibid., October, 18, 1943.

[93] FRUS, 1943, Vol. III, William R. Langdon, State Department representative on board the Gripsholm to Secretary of State Hull, October 23, 1943, 942-944.

The exchange took approximately one hour and fifteen minutes, and as the passengers boarded the Gripsholm the Red Cross handed each of the boarders a chocolate candy bar in welcome. Swedish stewards served a "Swedish smorgasbord feast" and mail, the first for many passengers since the Japanese occupation of China, was distributed. Some individuals received hundreds of letters.[94] The Gripsholm departed the port of Mormugao, and sailed to Port Elizabeth, South Africa, and then to Rio de Janeiro, where the first Gripsholm voyage had also stopped enroute. The State Department was again concerned about "loose talk" by the former captives while they were in the ports on their return trip. It feared that comments made by passengers might "possibly be helpful to the enemy" or "be detrimental to the interest of the 10,000 American civilians and thousands of American prisoners of war remaining" in the Far East. In the Brazilian port individuals were permitted to send telegrams and make telephone calls. Representatives of news organizations were not allowed to board the Gripsholm, however passengers offered comments once on shore. While the State Department preferred they not talk to the press, to prohibit them to do so , "might have been interpreted as limiting the freedom of the press." Nonetheless, limited censorship was practiced and the State Department cautioned: "Department assumes press

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[94] Inabelle Graves Coleman, "Flashes That Do Not Fade," The Commission February 1944, 26-27.

representatives will realize seriousness of matters at stake and will be patient with censorship authorities."[95]

The repatriates were kept quite busy and were entertained frequently. In Rio, United States and Canadian nationals prepared a "gala reception" for their arrival and arranged a two day shopping and sightseeing agenda for all who wanted to participate.[96]

A welcome was planned at the New York harbor, and considerable planning went into anticipating their needs. The Red Cross Motor Corps representatives from the Traveler's Aid and public assistance agencies assisted passengers to travel to their homes. While relatives were not permitted on the docks to meet the former captives, the American Red Cross acted as a clearing agency and reception center for reuniting families. The agency also carried approximately twenty thousand pounds of clothing onto the Gripsholm to outfit some of the passengers who had traveled with only the clothes on their backs. Trained social workers were available to advise and assist the passengers. Federal funds, allocated from the Civilian War Assistance Program, were offered for transportation, clothing, food, and medical care.[97]

On Pier F in Jersey City the press, described as "one of the largest gatherings of newspaper, radio, and newsreel representatives in may years, had arrived to meet the

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[95] FRUS, 1943, Vol. III, Acting Secretary of State Stettinius to Brazilian Ambassador Caffery, Washington, November 9, 1943, 944-945.

[96] New York Times, November 14, 1943.

[97] Ibid., December 1, 1943.

repatriates in full force." There was such a reception that one reporter stated: " These people are going to go home and tell their friends that the atrocities began on their arrival in New York."[98] In three days all but thirty passengers, who were detained at Ellis Island for further questioning, had been cleared from the Gripsholm and were on their way to families and homes.[99]

Despite the hardships and unfortunate incidents all Americans who returned on the Japanese ship survived and were returned to their country. The Japanese openness to the idea of repatriation during this particular period led United States officials to attempt to initiate another exchange of prisoners with the Japanese before the second repatriates had even reached New York on the return voyage. Despite the adversity experienced by the passengers on the Teia Maru, repatriation was preferable to captivity. Shortly after the completion of the second exchange Nathanial P. Davis, the Foreign Service Officer who was detailed as "inspector" of the Gripsholm and its operations offered: "While the report draws attention to a number of aspects of the voyage of the Teia Maru which might have been better, it is my recommendation that no action be taken with regard to most of them." The vessel, as unsatisfactory as it was, remained the only one available to the Japanese for transporting repatriates, and Davis reasoned: "I am certain that the majority of our

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[98] Ibid., December 1, 1943.

[99] Ibid., December 3, 1943.

unfortunate fellow citizens still in Japanese hands would prefer a voyage on the Teia Maru to remaining in captivity.[100]

In early November 1943, acting Secretary of State Edward Stettinius said in a telegram to Minister Harrison in Bern that "the United States would like to make another exchange with the Japanese Government to cover 1500 Americans for 1500 Japanese." He requested the minister to "please present the matter to the Japanese government and advise Department of their attitude."[101] The third exchange, however, was not to occur mainly because the Japanese were dissatisfied. In the words of the Japanese foreign spokesman," the possibility of a third exchange could not be given consideration before clarification of certain points concerning treatment Japanese citizens interned United States."[102] It is presumed by this statement that the dispute between the United States and Japan continued concerning the specific individuals that Japan wanted repatriated. Also Japan was angered about the incarceration of innocent Japanese in containment camps in the United States. The Foreign Mission Board in Richmond was not as concerned about the arrangement of another United States and Japan repatriation voyage. While there were still many Americans who remained

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[100] FRUS,1943, Vol.III, Report by Nathaniel P. Davis, Foreign Service Officer and Inspector of the Gripsholm, to Secretary of State Hull, Washington, December 17, 1943, 950-951.

[101] Ibid., Acting Secretary of State Stettinius to Minister Harrison of Switzerland, Washington, November 5, 1943, 944.

[102] Ibid., Minister Harrison of Switzerland to Secretary of State Hull, Bern, undated, received November 23, 1943, 945-946.

imprisoned in the Far East, all Southern Baptist missionaries who had been interned by the Japanese military had come home.[103]

[103] Elizabeth Hale remained in captivity until the end of the World War II, and in China until 1951.

STATISTICAL TABLE FOR ALL FOREIGN MISSIONS, FOR THE YEAR 1936

CHURCH STATISTICS

CHURCHES	IN CARE OF	Date of Organization	Number of Churches	Number of Churches Self-Supporting	Out-Stations	Increase			Diminution			Total Membership	Houses of Worship Owned by Board or Natives	Sunday Schools		Women's Societies		Young People's Societies		Native Contributions
						Baptism	Letter	Restoration	Death	Expulsion	Letter			Number of Schools	Number of Scholars	Number of Societies	Number of Members	Number of Societies	Number of Members	
Africa		1850	210	106	135	865	39	40	109	107	47	21,181	236	84	5,441	174	4,728	37	531	$ 30,000
Argentina		1903	74	36	80	431	90	87	40	172	50	5,184	45	109	4,675	50	1,370	50	1,570	35,000
Brazil	North	1882	175	62	376	1,145	889	195	152	549	758	11,116	126	188	9,093	103	2,243	171	3,357	30,000
	South	1882	349	260	932	2,390	1,834	589	278	1,391	2,192	34,400	200	574	39,597	263	5,824	230	5,187	115,777
	Totals	----	524	322	1,308	4,035	2,723	784	430	1,940	2,950	45,516	326	762	48,690	366	8,067	401	8,544	145,777
Chile		1917	38	------	101	272	24	102	34	118	29	3,172	20	60	3,370	23	523	20	584	5,000
China	Central	1847	41	11	23	391	31	------	51	5	15	6,573	30	54	3,757	35	771	63	2,701	12,328
	Interior	1904	21	11	81	785	7	2	45	3	4	8,403	54	65	3,078	28	1,057	36	559	7,439
	North	1860	85	20	102	1,849	57	2	90	13	396	17,257	101	43	3,136	41	1,651	26	788	6,210
	South	1845	56	27	66	886	63	------	88	137	------	14,124	82	90	5,855	48	1,100	65	826	15,500
	Totals	----	203	69	274	3,891	158	4	274	158	415	41,357	267	252	15,826	150	4,579	190	5,174	41,477
Hungary		1921	93	------	530	655	365	91	174	214	443	13,420	203	278	6,794	99	2,010	230	3,400	39,022
Italy		1870	56	------	45	124	61	11	35	29	41	2,950	22	52	988	41	509	------	------	9,461
Japan		1890	19	5	10	153	35	2	15	7	58	2,781	12	27	1,621	17	217	23	474	5,475
Jugo-Slavia		1921	29	14	88	251	71	------	21	48	51	2,281	23	41	844	------	------	19	370	2,335
Mexico		1880	45	5	111	167	52	21	30	75	73	2,442	39	53	1,907	33	551	97	1,140	4,658
Palestine-Syria		1895	5	------	------	8	7	1	2	------	------	133	3	6	667	2	55	2	109	750
*Rumania		1921	400	400	85	3,926	------	------	------	------	------	62,203	150	500	17,800	350	7,000	400	8,500	50,000
*Spain		1921	19	4	31	104	5	------	23	18	62	1,054	5	26	963	7	207	12	341	5,369
Grand Totals		----	1,715	961	2,798	14,882	3,630	1,143	1,187	2,886	4,219	203,674	1,353	2,250	109,586	1,312	30,016	1,481	30,737	$ 374,324

STATISTICAL TABLE FOR ALL FOREIGN MISSIONS, FOR THE YEAR 1936—Continued

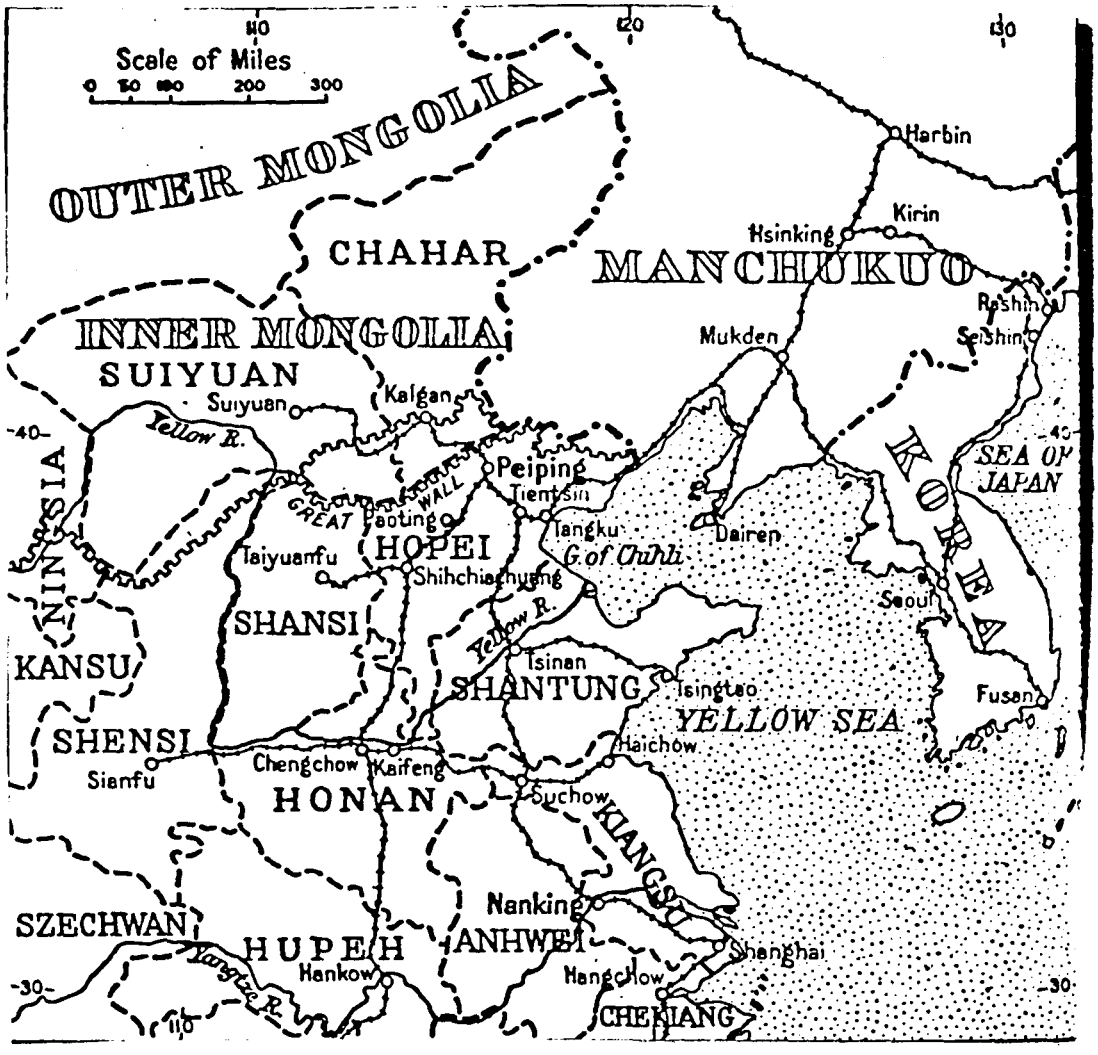
CHURCHES	In Care of	WORKING FORCE: Missionaries: Men	Missionaries: Married Women	Missionaries: Unmarried Women	Ordained Natives	Unordained Native Workers: Male	Unordained Native Workers: Female	Missionary Residences Owned by the Board	SCHOOL STATISTICS: 1. Kindergartens: Number of Schools	1. Kindergartens: Pupils	2. Lower Elementary Schools: Number of Schools	2. Lower Elementary Schools: Pupils, Male	2. Lower Elementary Schools: Pupils, Female	3. Higher Elementary Schools: Number of Schools	3. Higher Elementary Schools: Pupils, Male	3. Higher Elementary Schools: Pupils, Female	4. Middle Schools: Number of Schools	4. Middle Schools: Pupils, Male	4. Middle Schools: Pupils, Female	5. Colleges: Number of Colleges	5. Colleges: Students, Male	5. Colleges: Students, Female	6. Normal Training Schools: Number of Schools	6. Normal Training Schools: Students, Male	6. Normal Training Schools: Students, Female	7. Women's Training Schools: Number of Schools	7. Women's Training Schools: Students	8. Theological Schools: Number of Schools	8. Theological Schools: Students	Total Number Schools	Total Number Students
Africa		11	11	14	21	234	9	14	12	344	60	2959	175	7	264	179	3	355	55	...	...	...	2	68	6	1	10	1	10	86	4,625
Argentina		11	11	2	46	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	50	1	17	2	67
Brasil	North	14	12	4	77	16	12	12	1	10	4	247	120	6	76	25	1	225	101	...	...	...	1	...	75	1	20	1	33	13	932
	South	24	24	13	159	108	10	5	5	130	25	933	746	6	120	110	5	546	629	1	4	...	...	...	...	2	63	1	17	45	3,300
	Totals	38	36	17	236	124	22	17	6	140	29	1180	866	10	196	135	6	773	730	1	4	...	1	...	75	3	83	2	50	58	4,232
Chile		4	4	4	16	...	...	...	...	...	5	75	75	1	...	350	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	500
China	Central	24	24	27	24	21	18	35	5	329	17	882	823	12	410	324	9	1564	547	1	920	308	1	...	117	2	19	...	...	47	6,143
	Interior	8	8	15	6	58	20	17	2	50	14	198	144	1	...	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	70	1	60	19	537
	North	19	19	24	23	110	62	30	6	153	64	1234	975	10	186	191	6	320	400	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	75	1	85	80	3,619
	South	15	15	16	38	86	62	20	7	423	8	981	631	2	762	275	2	1458	594	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	88	3	67	26	5,279
	Totals	66	66	82	91	275	171	102	20	955	103	3290	2573	25	1358	810	17	3342	1541	1	920	308	1	...	117	9	252	5	212	181	15,578
Hungary		...	...	2	85	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	12	1	12
Italy		2	2	...	38	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Japan		5	5	4	10	11	...	10	7	250	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	546	580	1	370	...	...	...	...	1	5	1	5	12	1,756
Jugo-Slavia		...	...	...	11	77	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mexico		5	4	...	28	11	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Palestine-Syria		2	1	2	5	...	...	1	1	9	1	...	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	29
*Rumania		1	1	2	355	370	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
*Spain		1	1	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Grand Totals		146	142	129	950	1,207	204	145	46	1898	198	7504	3709	43	1818	1476	27	5016	2806	3	1294	308	6	68	98	15	400	11	306	347	26,799

STATISTICAL TABLE FOR ALL FOREIGN MISSIONS. FOR THE YEAR 1936—Continued

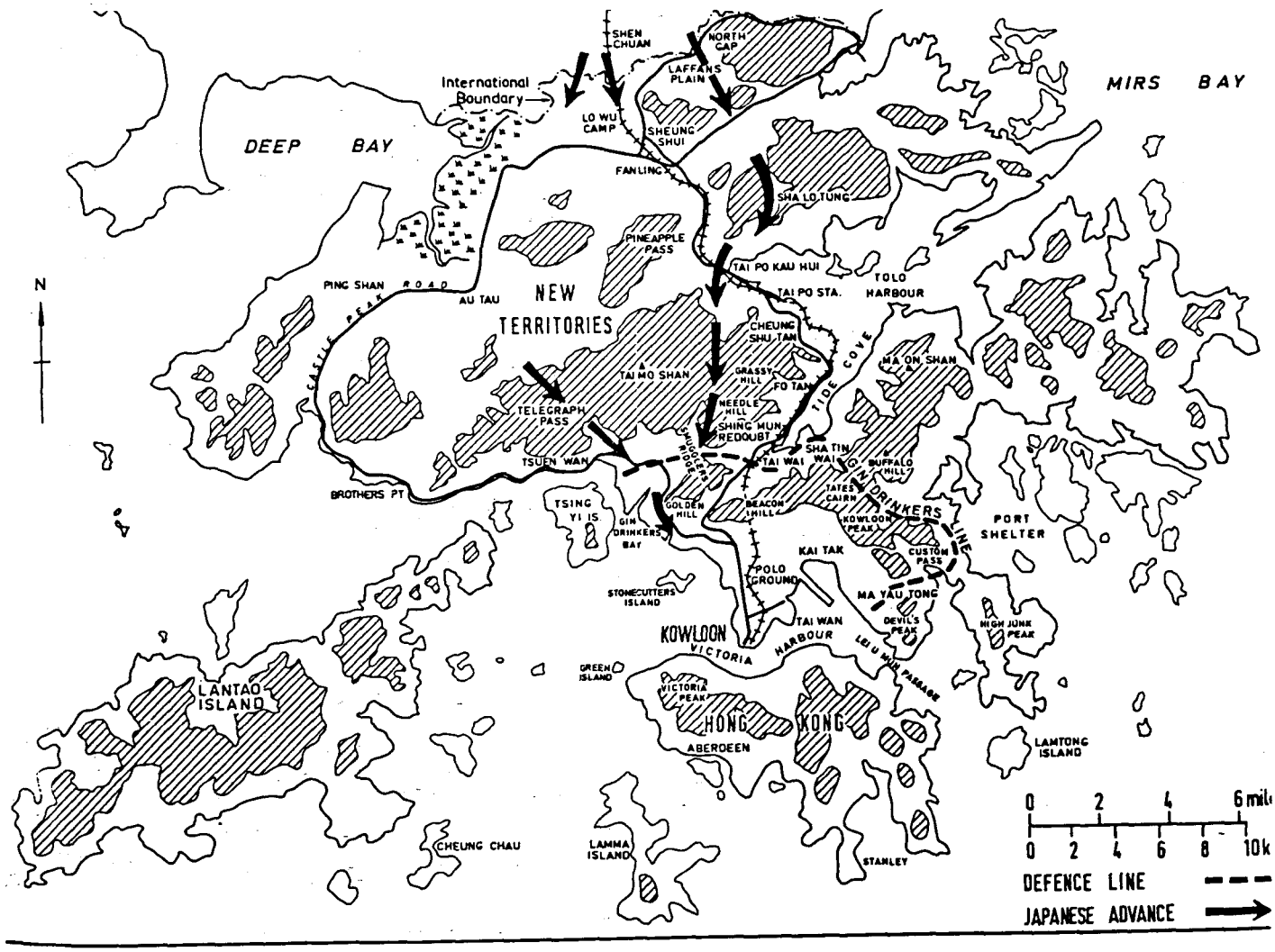
MEDICAL STATISTICS

CHURCHES	IN CARE OF	Foreign Physicians, Men	Foreign Physicians, Women	Foreign Nurses	Native Physicians	Native Nurses	Number Hospital Buildings	Number of Beds	In-Patients	Major Operations	Number Dispensaries	Number Out-Patients	Total Number Patients Treated	Total Number Treatments	REMARKS
Africa		2		4		11	8	36	329	250	5	2,506	2,835	49,508	
Argentina															
Brazil	North														
	South														
	Totals														
Chile															
China	Central	2	1	2		1	6	100			1	7,500	7,500	25,000	
	Interior	1	1	2	2	33	7	50	310	191	3	4,050	4,560	20,473	
	North	4	1	5	3	33	7	101	2,134	241	4	16,120	17,095	45,721	
	South	4		1	14	62	9	268	2,547	124	5	37,249	56,609	73,592	
	Totals	11	3	10	19	129	28	519	5,191	556	12	64,919	85,764	164,786	
Hungary															
Italy															
Japan															
Jugo-Slavia															
Mexico															
Palestine-Syria															
*Rumania															
*Spain															
Grand Totals		13	3	14	19	140	36	555	5,520	806	18	67,425	88,599	214,294	

Appendix Two: Map of North China



Appendix Three: Route of Japan's Attack on Hong Kong



2 ROUTE OF JAPANESE ATTACK ON HONG KONG

Source: Endacott, G. B., Hong Kong Elipse, Oxford University Press, New York, 1978.

Appendix Four: List of Southern Baptist Missionaries on Repatriation Vessel Gripsholm

Southern Baptist Missionaries on the First Gripsholm Voyage

Abernathy, John A.
Bryan, Dr. N. A.
Barratt, Clifford
C. L. Culpepper
Demarest, Mary C.
Dodson, Flora
Ford. Ruth
Franks, Martha
Gallimore, A. R.
Garrett, W. Maxfield
Greene, Lydia E.
Groves, Blanche
Hamlett, P. W.
Hamlett, Mrs. P. W.
Hayes, Dr. C. A.
Jackson, J. E.
Jeffers, Irene
Larson, I. V.
McDaniel, C. G.
McDaniel, Mrs. C. G.
Miller, John H.
Olive, L. B.
Pender, Auris
Quick, Oz
Pierce, Mrs. L. W.
Pierce, Ethel
Rankin, M. Theron
Sallee, W. E.
Smith, Bertha
Stamps, D. R.
Stamps, Mrs. D. R.
Stewart, Reba
Teal, Edna
Todd, Pearl
Ward, Josephine
Wells, Grace
Ward, Cecil S.
Ward, Mrs Cecil S.
Woodward, F. T.

Appendix Four: List of Southern Baptist Missionaries on Repatriation Vessel Gripsholm

Southern Baptist Missionaries on the Second Gripsholm Voyage

Alexander, Mary Charlotte
Bryan, Dr. R.T.
Bryan, Mrs. R.T.
Bostick, Attie T.
Byrd, Juanita
Caldwell, Pearl
Coleman, Inabelle G.
Connely, Frank H.
Connely, Mrs. Frank
Fielder, Wilson
Gillespie, Arthur S.
Glass, Lois C.
Glass, W.B.
Glass, Mrs. W.B.
Hundley, Lillie
Jacob, Robert A.
James, Sallie Moss
Johnson, Roberta Pearl
Johnson, William Buren
Knight, Doris
Lawton, Deaver M.
Lawton, Olive
Lanneau, Sophie S.
Lide, Florence
Lide, Frank
Lide, Jane W.
Marlowe, Rose
McMillan, Henry H.
Miller, Floryne
Parker, Earl
Snuggs, Harold H.
Tatum, E. F.
Tipton, William H.
Ware, James H.
Westbrook, Charles Hart
Williams, James T.
Yocum, Dr. A.W.
Yocum, Mrs. A.W.

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VITA

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